Coughlin's 'Christian Front' *by John L. Spivak*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS
December 26, 1939

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Allen Hutt Writes from London

The Finnish Campaign

by General Victor A. Yakhontoff

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by Milton Meltzer

Mr. His of Histown

A Children's Story by A. Redfield

CARTOONS BY GROPPER, GARDNER REA, RICHTER, JOHNSON

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Between Ourselves

CHICAGO gets an opportunity to hear the truth about Father Coughlin when John L. Spivak speaks at Orchestra Hall, Jan. 5, 1940. The Chicago League Against Undemocratic Practices is organizing the meeting under the sponsorship of Pearl Hart, attorney, who will act as chairman; Gilbert Roche, executive secretary of the American League for Peace and Democracy; Samuel S. Pollya of the American Jewish Congress; Martha Caldwell and Louis Noyes of the National Lawyers Guild; Mervin Purwin and Rhoda Nedwick of B'Nai Brith; Gilbert Lang, executive secretary of the Workers Alliance of Illinois; Harry Wohl, international vice president of the American Newspaper Guild, and others. Arrangements for a local broadcast of Mr. Spivak's expose are being undertaken.

The article "War Propaganda Cum Laude" is not the opening gun of NEW MASSES in the hard campaigning to keep America's youth from going Over There for the glory of Chamberlain and Herbert Hoover. We have been doing that for some time. But with this issue we carry the campaign onto the campus. We shall do some hard skirmishing there, for some warmakers are clad in cap and gown and can quote Ovid and Horace to persuade the youth to die for good old J. P. Morgan. Milton Meltzer will follow this article with several more. James Dugan, Joseph Starobin, and others whom the college youth know are moving into the front lines with all they've got. It won't be as easy for Nicholas Miraculous Butler this war as it was the last. In fact, he may not get to bless even one detachment of fine Columbia boys in khaki if we can do anything about it.

Dulce et decorum pro patria mori is right if it is for your country and for your people; but this war is not our war despite all Lord Lothian can say.

A pamphlet has just come off the press to which NM extends warm editorial greetings. Called *The USSR and Finland,* it presents in sixty-four compact pages more of the essentials of this question, with completer documentation, than have yet appeared. Several important conclusions are driven home: first, that the world-wide, anti-Soviet offensive has never ceased, taking new forms as the world situation changed, now openly interventionist, now conspiratorial; second, that in the calculations of the general staff of this offensive the Baltic states, in particular Finland, always figured as the key; and, finally, that the Swedo-Finnish ruling class, by its origins, traditions, and history, has consistently served not the interests of the Finnish people but of world capitalism, for whose purposes it has in the past, as today, made independence and the welfare of the people take back seats. The pamphlet has been compiled and edited by the staff of *Soviet Russia Today;* it is no surprise to see that one of its main sections is the contribution of Alter Brody, well known to our readers.

A giant New Year's Eve hop is being plotted by this magazine for the redecorated Royal Windsor at 69 West 66th St., N. Y. C., under the theme "Fountain of Youth, 1940." There will be two orchestras: Edgar Hayes, and his fifteen piece band—plus Al Louis and his fourteen swingmen. The festivities will be the least expensive of anything you can lurch into on the big night. Tickets are 75 cents in advance and 90 cents at the door; and organizations may now purchase blocks of twenty or more tickets for 50 cents each. Mail and phone reservations are now being taken at NM office, 461 Fourth Ave., CAledonia 5-3076.

Edgar Hayes, maestro of the Blue Rhythm orchestra, is a pianist of note, having had the distinction of introducing Hoagy Carmichael's classic, "Stardust," and many of his own hits. Born in Lexington, Ky., Mr. Hayes had a sound classical training in music, having graduated from Wilberforce College, Xenia, Ohio, in 1920. The Hayes organization is one of the most rapidly advancing bands in jazz, already threatening the supremacy of the big outfits. Surprise entertainment, scores of prominent personalities, and New Year's Eve nectar and ambrosia are on the evening's bill of fare. Ponce de Leon is our master of ceremonies and the dancing—continuous—will go on till the dawn of 1940.

The Third Convention of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade will be held December 23 at at the Hotel Diplomat, N. Y. C. On Friday, December 22, the convention will open with a ball at the Diplomat.

Victor A. Yakhontoff

Gen. Victor A. Yakhontoff received his title with the Tenth Imperial Russian Army in charge of its division of military operations. He was later military attache of the Imperial Russian Embassy at Tokyo. Under the Kerensky regime he was appointed assistant secretary of war. In the United States he has had charge of the publishing activities for Russia of the International Committee of the YMCA. As a military man and a visitor of the Soviet Union in 1929, 1931, 1933, and 1936 he is most competent to assay the activities and tactics of the Red Army in Finland. Despite the meager news about the military operations against the army of Baron von Mannerheim, the simple, bold strokes of the advance show what is happening and what is going to happen.

Who's Who

ALLEN HUTT is the author of *Post-War History of the British Working Class* and a regular contributor to the British *Labour Monthly.* . . . Milton Meltzer is well known to NM readers as the author of numerous articles and book reviews. . . . Ralph Ellison is a young Negro writer. . . . Joseph Starobin is an expert on foreign affairs. . . . John Stark is a student of Catholic national and international political and financial activities. He is a novice of the Third Order of St. Francis and the recipient of a Cardinal Gibbons medal for Christian Doctrine.

Flashbacks

NOT only is this the week in which the birthday of Joseph Stalin is being celebrated—he was born Dec. 21, 1879—but this week James W. Ford, Negro leader and Communist, is forty-six years old. He was born Dec. 22, 1893. . . . Memo to those now prosecuting—and persecuting—American Communist Party leaders: the Reichstag fire trial ended, disastrously for the Nazis, on December 23, six years ago.

This Week

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NEW MASSES

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Blitzkrieg on the Home Front

Allen Hutt tells what the war has done to the English workingman's living standard, taxes, trade unions, wages, and civil liberties. The tories know whom they are fighting.

London (By Clipper).

So far as the British working class is concerned this war has been a very real affair from the word go. The expected Hitler *Blitzkrieg* which drove us into wholesale evacuation of our big cities and a nationwide blackout has not materialized. But the *Blitzkrieg* of our own ruling class began promptly at zero hour on September 3. Never have popular standards and conditions of life been so menaced as in the last few months. Never, it may be added, have our industrial and financial big shots been better off—they are sitting right on top of the world.

It is a long story, which I can only highlight here. The central point is simply stated. To conduct their war our rulers consider it essential to impose the fullest measure of state control on all business and inevitable that our standards of life should be progressively lowered. That last point was the burden of Sir John Simon's recent statement in the House of Commons. The nature of the first has been made clear by the Controls appointed for the principal industries. Sir Arthur Salter, outstanding economist, has neatly christened the Control system "the bastard socialism of the vested interests." There is certainly something monotonous about the way leading monopolists turn up as the controllers in their own particular line of business. King of them all is the government's adviser on economic coordination—Lord Stamp, president of the London Midland & Scottish Railway, director of the Bank of England, the country's supreme ideologist of big business (also, let us whisper it, a former member of the pro-Nazi Anglo-German Fellowship and an invited guest at the Nuremberg *Parteitag* just before Munich).

I take it, no reader will conclude that the present and future onslaught against the British masses is undertaken by our rulers just for the hell of it. One or two figures will suggest the critical nature of the economic situation. The war, even on its present "stalemate" basis, costs this country $30,000,000 a day. We face this enormous strain, not as in 1914, with a national debt of $3,530,000,000, but with one of $46,000,000,000. And as Chancellor Simon refuses to "soak the rich"—he repeats the conventional view that such a proceeding is impossible—the only way out, within the capitalist framework, is to place the burden on the mass of the population. Hence the efforts to build up our Nazi-like war economy.

Apologists may claim that the crushingly increased direct taxation, the levy on excess profits, and so forth represent the contribution of the rich. But, naturally enough, it is the professional and the small middle-class man who really suffers from the heavy income tax (levied at the rate of two out of every five dollars of income). As for the profits tax, this again will affect most severely the smaller capitalist interests. It is noteworthy that the basic years for profits, over which excess is to be taxed, are 1936-38—years of a profit level higher than the boom year of 1929. Lord Stamp's own index of aggregate profits stands at an average of 119.3 for 1936-38 as against 106.8 for 1929.

Let us see how this general setup is beginning to affect the lives and work of the British people. First, there is a serious rise in the cost of living. The official index gives this as 9 percent over the first three months, but this index, long criticized by economists, statisticians, and social workers, is a poor indicator. Two months ago the Public Assistance Committee of Barnsley, typical Yorkshire industrial center, made its own investigation on the basis of actual family budgets, and concluded that the rise in the cost of living *at that time* was already 25 percent (when the official rise was 6 percent).

LESS FOOD

In addition, there has been wide curtailment of basic food supplies like bacon, butter, and sugar. Food supply and distribution have fallen into a state of chaos without parallel. Despite insistent demands and exposures by Labor and Cooperative spokesmen the government has persistently stalled over rationing, which is only to begin (just for bacon and butter) in January. Nor should it be forgotten that rising prices and short supplies strike a population at least half of whom are below the optimum nutritional level, according to the findings of our leading nutrition experts, Sir John Orr and the late Dr. M'Gonigle.

The official contention has been that food prices can be stabilized. Rationing and the existing control of the prices of most staple foods are invoked. But I do not find any easy optimism on this subject among responsible people in the Labor movement. Arthur Horner, national miners' leader and president of the South Wales Miners Federation, points out that food prices are fixed "by the Ministry of Food in consultation with advisory committees of the trades concerned. The character of these committees is shown by the fact that the chairman of the advisory committee on cereals, for example, is J. V. Rank, chairman of the millionaire Rank's flour combine. Prices are fixed at a level which the combines regard as 'appropriate.' Against these prices there is no machinery of appeal."

It will be seen from the rise in the cost of living that wages are lagging behind prices. Actually the movement of wages in the opening months of the present war contrasts significantly with the opening months of the war of 1914-18. Then real wages were stable: now they have already registered a sharp decline.

UNEMPLOYMENT

True, there have been many wage increases; but these are very unevenly spread over the working class. The slightly more than two million men and women who have secured or received the promise of increased wages are only one-seventh of the country's industrial workers. The same uneven spread characterizes unemployment. Even with the colossal industrial demands of the war we still have what the London *Times* anxiously terms a "large and persistent amount of unemployment"—over 1,400,000. The war added some 200,000 to these (by mid-October) and the reduction shown in the latest returns (mid-November) is less than thirty thousand. The *Times* points out that the continued existence of 21,000 unemployed in engineering and iron and steel founding, twenty thousand in metal manufacturing, shows "the lack of correct adjustment in the scheme of production." Or, shall we say, the extent to which the rationalization of the past decade has rendered labor superfluous, no matter what the output of industry?

The whole labor situation is shot through with contradictions. Heavy unemployment in some trades and centers is balanced by heavy overtime in others. London, where for years unemployment was lower than in the heavy industrial areas of the north and midlands, now shows a sharp rise while they register a decline. Shorter hours have knocked down the relatively high wages in powerfully unionized trades like printing. Changes in the administration of unemployment assistance place more powers in the hands of officialdom. Unemployed allowances were raised only by the official cost-of-living increase—9 percent.

What of the reaction of the working class to all this? A vital conditioning factor, of

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course, is the fact that the trade union leadership has agreed on an industrial truce "for the duration." The General Council of the Trades Union Congress has set up a joint advisory council with the employers' organizations. Nevertheless we have enough signs of the groundswell that can become a storm. Up to the end of November I noted forty-odd local strikes or threats of strikes reported in obscure corners of the newspapers. Local industrial conferences called under the auspices of the London *Daily Worker* are drawing hundreds of trade union delegates in centers like Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Newcastle, Sheffield, Cardiff. These conferences have gone on record for a nationwide movement to increase wages, put an end to the war, and pave the way for a government really representing the people by breaking the Labor leaders' collaboration with Mr. Chamberlain. It is realized that, as Gordon Schaffer, well informed industrial correspondent of *Reynolds News,* puts it: "There is a grave danger that the men ruling Britain will drift to the point of disaster and will then turn in a more drastic form to the attack on the masses engineered in 1931. France, it must be said with sadness, has already adopted this course."

FLUX OF OPINION

Do not overestimate the actual strength of this leftward trend in the working class and the Labor movement. The official machine is still enormously strong. Nevertheless, the swing of opinion has begun and is developing. It is now infinitely more conscious and developed than at a much later stage in the last war. But, then, the differentiation within the Labor movement is much sharper. Today the relation of forces on the left of the movement is entirely different from what it was before the war. The impact of war and the revolutionary policy of the Soviet Union has caused wide confusion among the amorphous mass of "People's Front" fellow travelers. Many still believe that this is an anti-fascist war, and have lined up behind the government and the Labor leaders. Publisher Gollancz' famous Left Book Club issues its first anti-Soviet book. An influential paper like *Reynolds News,* which won renown and circulation in recent years by its oppositional stand, now joins with the official Labor *Daily Herald* in editorial anti-Sovietism.

You can get some idea of the abysmal depths plumbed by the *Daily Herald* from two items of its performances since the war in Finland. It began by featuring Butcher Mannerheim, picture and all, as "National Hero of Finland" who in 1918 "beat the Bolsheviks and liberated his country." London Labor leader Herbert Morrison, in a nationally publicized speech, denounced the Soviet "aggression" but added that "if our reactionaries and Herr Hitler were to make any move towards a Nazi-British alliance against the USSR, British Labor would oppose it." The *Daily Herald* featured the denunciation but omitted the warning, which was carried in every news agency report and printed in every other paper.

Of course there is no lack of clarity in the position of the Labor Party leadership. It has paralleled the industrial truce with a political truce (no by-elections during the war, and no municipal elections). Party leader C. R. Attlee laid down the leaders' war aims in a pronouncement which, according to a London *Times* editorial, "matches well, though it was the speech of the leader of the Opposition, with the declaration of the foreign secretary the day before. In no essential particular is there any divergence of opinion." Attlee's statement was made at a private meeting of Labor MP's and candidates where no questions or discussion were allowed. It is not surprising that Aneurin Bevan, MP, associate of Cripps, should devote an article to the theme "Labor Prisoner of the Tories."

On the question of attitudes toward the war and Soviet policy, supporters of the official Labor line often argue that they are simply expressing the general feeling. Signs to the contrary are not wanting. To take a random sample: The other week I was speaking at a large Cooperative gathering in Liverpool, attended by the local Cooperative worthies—not politically advanced people by any means. Of their forty-odd questions there was not one critical of the Soviet Union's policy. The *Daily Worker* reports that from October 7—when the Communist Party enunciated its new line of opposition to the war—to mid-November, over 120 Labor organizations, including thirty-eight Labor Party locals and fifty-five union locals, adopted anti-war resolutions.

Labor officialdom has been prognosticating the "disintegration" of the Communist Party as a result of its "changed line." This is wishful thinking. The published report of the CP Central Committee's last meeting announced, in the words of R. Palme Dutt, that "on all sides the party is winning support, especially among the industrial workers, on the basis of its unqualified opposition to the war and independent fight for the interests of the workers; this is evidenced in the marked upward tendency in recruiting to the party."

ALLEN HUTT.

Gardner Rea

MAJOR NERTZ OF THE FASCIST SHIRTS

"And look at the Bill of Rights! Another confounded transmission belt!"

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The Campaign in Finland

Gen. Victor A. Yakhontoff interprets the military problems that face the Red Army in its duel with Baron von Mannerheim's forces.

CZARIST Russia carried on numerous wars with Sweden in the past. Czarist troops operated many times on Finnish soil before that country, previously part of Sweden, was detached from the latter in 1809 and became the Grand Duchy of Finland in the czarist empire. After Peter the Great's overwhelming victory over the Swedes at Gangut in 1714, Russian troops occupied Finland's entire territory. The treaty of Nystad ended the Great Northern war in 1721, leaving the czars the eastern part of Finland, along with Estonia and Latvia across the Finnish gulf. The war of 1808-09 saw the complete separation of Finland from Sweden after Russian troops made their legendary crossing over the frozen waters of the Gulf of Bothnia and came to the very gates of Stockholm. Many campaigns, then, demonstrated the worth of Russian soldiers. History has proved their ability to withstand the rigors of the Northern winters and Finland's extremely difficult terrain.

But there is no doubt that Finland as a theater of war represents great difficulties for the attack and therefore helps the defenders even with an unfavorable numerical ratio for the latter. Sixty percent of Finland's surface is covered by forest; thousands and thousands of lakes comprise 10 percent of her area, the larger part of the balance consisting of tundra and marshes. Finland is the ideal country for guerrilla warfare; small determined bands and even enterprising individuals count much more than large units of regulars. In the wintertime severe frost and the very short day (in some places sunlight is limited to a few hours) excludes large scale troop movements. Specially trained soldiers are necessary, equipped for the particular region, properly clad and supplied with skis. Even so, no unusual speed of advance is to be expected. Nor can any troops, however proficient, expect to make extraordinary advances while snow covers the ground, as it does in the long Finnish winter.

Of course, the stories in some newspapers about Russian troops having insufficient clothing and equipment are so much bunk. Those who have seen Soviet newsreels at all will remember Soviet troops on skis: for skiing is one of the most popular sports in a country which knows only too well what real winter means. As far as the wearing apparel of the Red Army is concerned, all of us have heard of the preference which the Soviet Union gives its armed forces. People who have visited the USSR and have seen the splendidly clad Red Army men simply smile at such clumsy falsehoods. No, it is very unlikely that poorly clad troops were sent to Finland, just as we can be perfectly certain that their equipment was quite adapted to the latitude.

Covering a frontier from degree 60 to past the 70th degree, or almost eight hundred miles, the Red Army naturally has many objectives. In the north lies the warm water port of Petsamo, a port which was given to Finland by the treaty of Dorpat in 1920, a port that was Russian long before Finland was incorporated in the czarist empire. In 1550, the Russians built the orthodox monastery there: Pechenga. Here it was that the British and German naval authorities turned their attention, for, from Petsamo the Soviet port of Murmansk is easily menaced; the USSR itself can be wholly severed from the Arctic. In the negotiations with Cajander and Erkko on this issue, the Soviet Union firmly insisted upon naval rights; in the ensuing hostilities, it was here that the Red Army made its initial dramatic landing in boats and parachutes. Extreme nervousness in some quarters will be readily explained by the fact that the International Nickel Works are situated in the proximity of Petsamo. At the time of this writing, Soviet troops have reached the Norwegian border and are moving down the excellent highway toward Tornea. The occupation of Tornea and possibly Uleaborg will cut overland communications with Sweden.

Soviet progress at this point has been anything but slow. The thrust from Karelia, consisting of two or more independent lines through Kemijaervi and Kuusamo advancing toward Rovaniemi, has been relatively rapid. Indeed, considering the terrain, the frost and the snow, it is rather amazing. The Red Army now appears to have passed beyond Suomussalmi and Hyrynsalmi on its way toward Uleaborg, halfway across the narrowest breadth of Finland. It cannot be long before it reaches the Gulf of Bothnia. If the Soviet naval blockade is equally effective, as reports from Sweden imply, Finnish lines of communication will be cut entirely in the very near future. That will seal the doom of the Ryti government, for, as Rudolf Holsti declared at Geneva the other day, sympathy alone can hardly save it.

THE BRITISH-BUILT LINE

But the most important fronts are to the south, namely the fortified zone known as the Mannerheim line, which is actually a group of fortifications constructed under the supervision and plan of the British general, Kirk. These fortifications stretch across the fifty-mile Karelian Isthmus, barring the passage westward, and also northward from Lake Ladoga. Naturally enough, the Russians are not assaulting this fortified zone any more rapidly than the French and the British are tackling the Westwall or the Germans the Maginot Line. To do otherwise would be suicidal. There is no room here for *Blitzkrieg* and the Soviets never promised anyone *Blitzkrieg*. Such a frontal attack would cost too many lives, which is why the Soviet command apparently doesn't attempt it, contrary to all the reports of "commentators" and "experts."

It would be far more sensible to outflank the enemy's fortified position and that seems to be the Red Army's strategy. Thus far they have succeeded in driving the Finns from the north shore of Lake Ladoga and continue to advance slowly. This is made necessary on account of the snow and the difficult terrain which limit the use of mechanized troops, but more significantly, in order to limit casualties to the minimum. On the isthmus, they have apparently approached the main Finnish fortifications, have crossed the Taipale River, and are nearing the fortified shore port of Viborg. At this point the Red Army has long passed Terijoki; Finnish troops of the new people's government are cooperating with it.

GUERRILLA WARFARE

One question that naturally arises upon the prospect of the collapse of the Ryti-Mannerheim government is the possibility of general guerrilla warfare. But guerrilla warfare depends largely upon popular support; the number of Finns who would support it depends on the class composition of the Finnish people. The farmers, as elsewhere, are not particularly well organized as a class. Most of them are petty-bourgeois, clinging to their meager holdings. But many among them desire more land; many remember the brutality with which General Mannerheim handled them when backed by the German and then the Allied armies in 1918-20. Living in poverty, anxious for some improvement in their lot, many, if not all, will scarcely fight to preserve a regime which was never solicitous of their welfare. A large percentage of the Finns are lumberjacks, most of them well organized. Together with the industrial workers (who are not over-numerous, of course) they have demonstrated their discontent in the past with pro-fascist governments, as well as with the present Agrarian coalition which represents landowners rather than farmers. How many of the lumberjacks can be expected to join in guerrilla warfare?

But guerrilla as well as regular warfare demands regular food supplies to keep people going. Finland doesn't have enough food of her own. If the blockade by the USSR is effective, or on the other hand, food shipments from Moscow are organized in the territories occupied by Red troops it is hardly risky to assert that the Ryti government has a poor chance of surviving as Finland's rulers. Only a government friendly to the Soviet Union, in the economic and military sense, will command the allegiance of the Finnish people.

VICTOR A. YAKHONTOFF.

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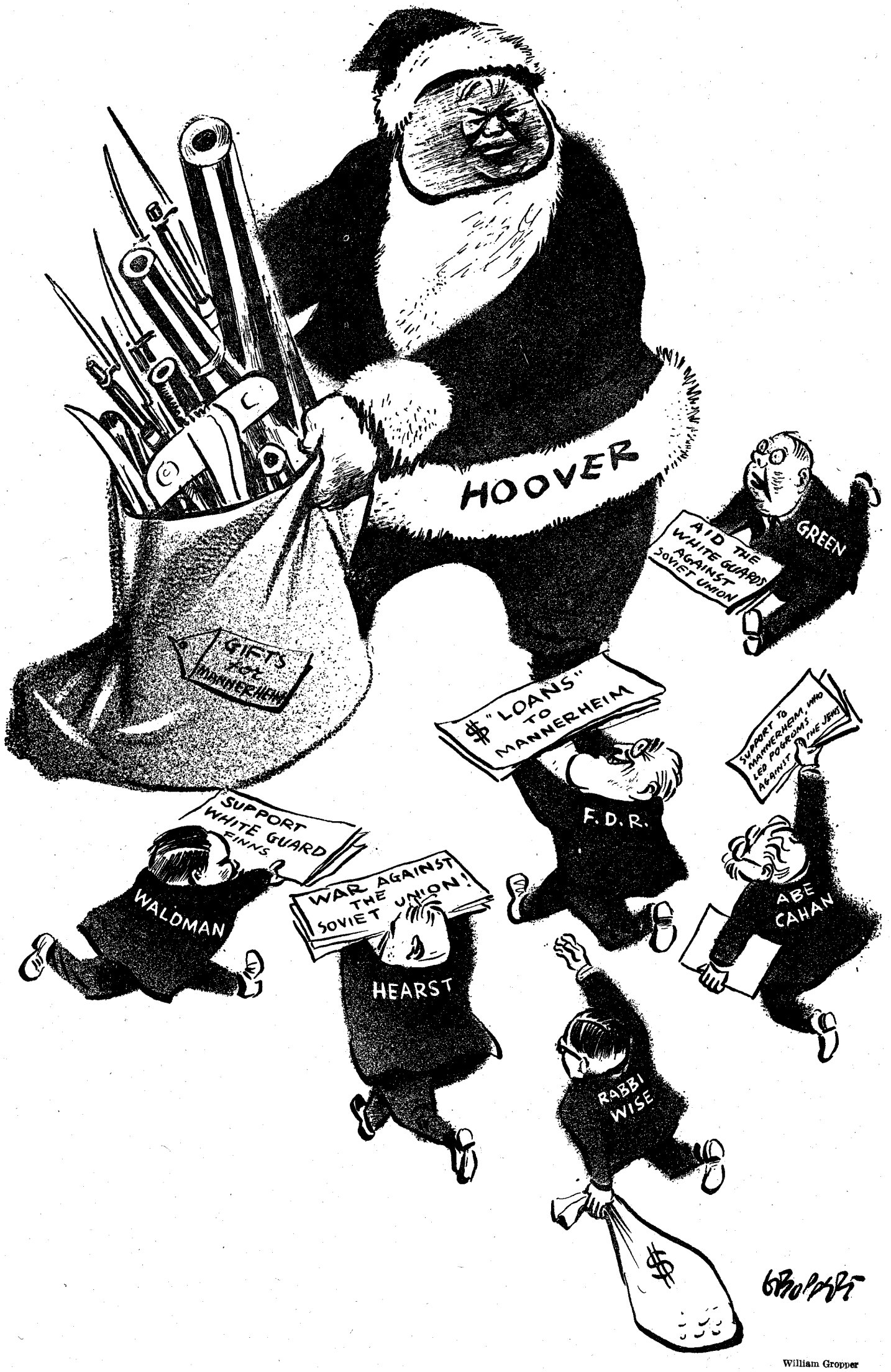

William Gropper

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War Propaganda Cum Laude

Today, as twenty-two years ago, the academic groves resound with bloodthirsty lectures as the professors do their bit to prepare the veterans of future wars.

TWENTY-ONE years ago 180,000 college men killed and were killed abroad in the service of American imperialism. At home in five hundred colleges and universities another 150,000 khaki-clad young men practiced bayoneting, studied field maneuvers, learned to hate the Hun, slept in barracks and ate at a common mess on campuses transformed into military training camps.

Twenty-one years is just time enough for a new generation of fighting men to be born and raised. And time enough to forget what happened before. Today, in a crisis so dangerously like 1914-18, American students are again threatened with loss of learning and of life. On every campus, in every classroom, no question demands answer so urgently as what stand students shall take on the war now rolling over Europe and reaching out to America.

The answer the colleges gave in the last war was a shameful one. At the first roll of the drums and toot of the trumpets the liberalism of the universities expired with the wheeze of a drunk collapsing over a fireplug. The Great Scholar in the White House proclaimed war in April of 1917, and in May 150 representatives of the leading American colleges and universities picked up their gowns and hotfooted it to Washington for a conference called by President Godfrey of Drexel Institute. It was a nice war, the prexies said, and they were sacrificial enough to change their courses of study and even the calendar year to suit the nation's needs. "This conference was of the utmost value in uniting, solidifying, and energizing college sentiment respecting the seriousness of the condition and the rights and duties of the higher institutions of learning in the prosecution of the war," reads one historian's judgment of the occasion.

PENS INTO RIFLES

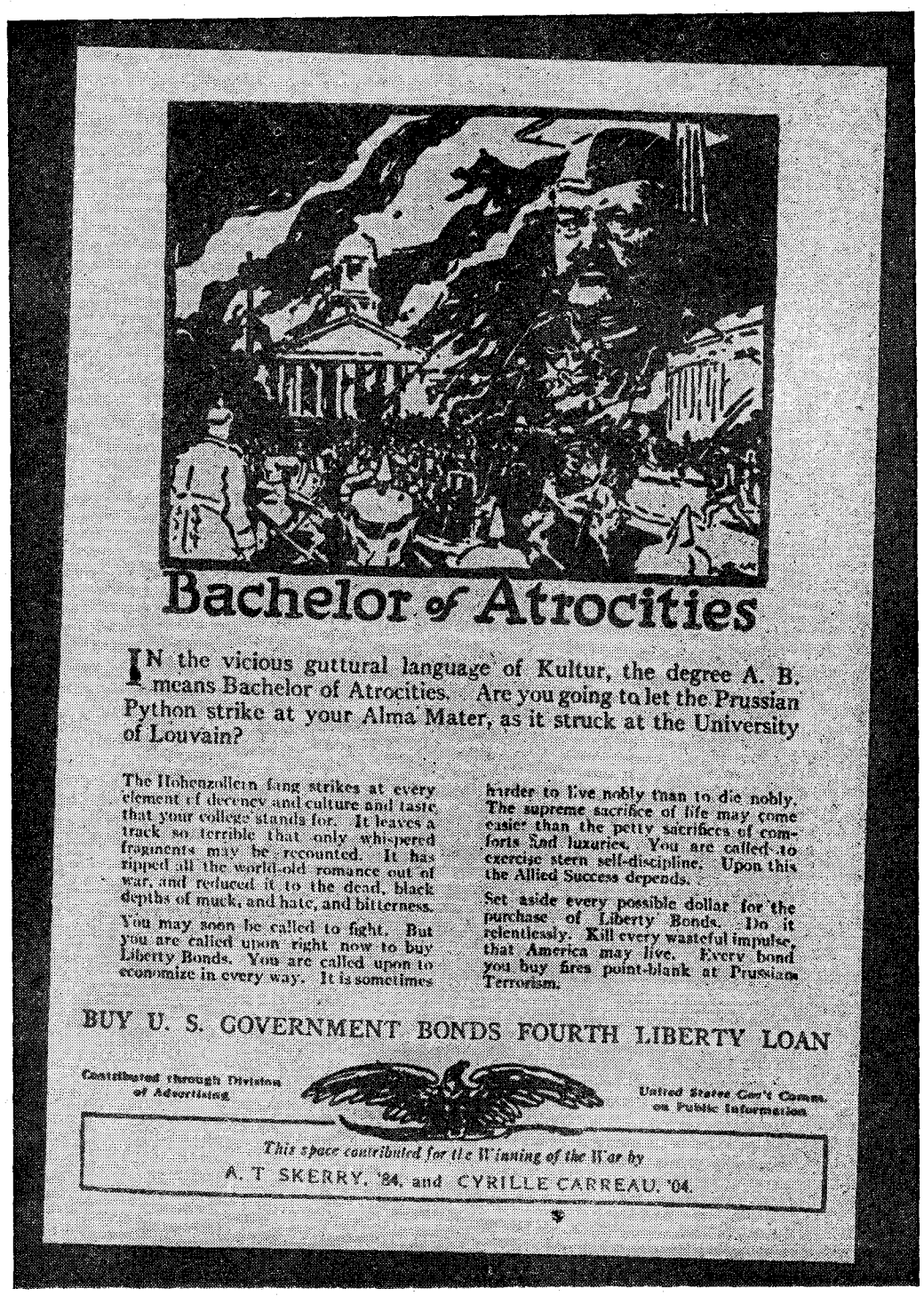
They were off. For the mortarboard the overseas cap, for the gown the khaki uniform, and for the pen the rifle. The government wasn't blind to their usefulness. Eloquence and idealism are as necessary in wartime as brass bands. The ex-college president running the show appointed George Creel his propaganda minister and Mr. Creel marshaled battalions of brains at every possible vantage point.

It wasn't hard to regiment the professors and get them to regiment their students. Since the outbreak of the war in 1914 the British Foreign Office had been shipping over dozens of such distinguished propagandists as James M. Barrie and John Masefield "to meet people connected with the universities and explain the British case as regards this war and our point of view of the issues involved." And two years later it could be reported back to London that "practically every professor of every faculty has received private packets of literature in his own language."

Properly conditioned for his role, Guy Stanton Ford, dean of the graduate school at the University of Minnesota, wrote an open letter to school principals in the spring of 1917 asking them to use coming high school commencements "for patriotic purposes." George Creel saw that letter, liked its author's initiative, and forthwith appointed the willing dean to a $5,200 job as director of the Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation of the Committee on Public Information.

BARRAGE OF WORDS

It was a stupendous job in "popular scholarship" that Dean Ford (still at Minnesota) did. His men put out 75,000,000 pieces of literature aimed at converting people of all kinds to support of the "war to end all wars." At a cost of $570,000, everything from leaflets


Bachelor of Atrocities
IN the vicious guttural language of Kultur, the degree A. B. means Bachelor of Atrocities. Are you going to let the Prussian Python strike at your Alma Mater, as it struck at the University of Louvain?
The Hohenzollern fang strikes at every element of decency and culture and taste that your college stands for. It leaves a track so terrible that only whispered fragments may be recounted. It has ripped all the world-old romance out of war, and reduced it to the dead, black depths of muck, and hate, and bitterness.
You may soon be called to fight. But you are called upon right now to buy Liberty Bonds. You are called upon to economize in every way. It is sometimes harder to live nobly than to die nobly. The supreme sacrifice of life may come easier than the petty sacrifices of comforts and luxuries. You are called to exercise stern self-discipline. Upon this the Allied Success depends.
Set aside every possible dollar for the purchase of Liberty Bonds. Do it relentlessly. Kill every wasteful impulse, that America may live. Every bond you buy fires point-blank at Prussian Terrorism.
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This space contributed for the Winning of the War by
A. T SKERRY, '84, and CYRILLE CARREAU, '04.

"APPEAL TO REASON." *Contributed to NYU "Alumni News" by two graduates. The hysterical tone was cleverly calculated to make the old grads feel subscribing to the Liberty Loan was even more crucial than winning the NYU-Fordham game.*

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to an elaborate *War Cyclopedia* and heavily annotated works of research poured out of the division's scholarly sluices to drown the country in a sea of chauvinism.

The names of the most noted educators were signed to these perversions of the truth. Editors of the *War Cyclopedia,* which circulated in 200,000 copies, were Frederic Paxson of Wisconsin, Edward S. Corwin of Princeton, and Samuel B. Harding of Indiana. Among the fifty other contributors to this ready reference book intended to remove all possible doubt as to who really started the war were Carl Becker of Cornell, Sidney B. Fay of Harvard and Charles A. Beard of Columbia. Professor Beard in his zeal led a delegation of the Columbia faculty consisting of himself, H. B. Mitchell, and Walter B. (*Life Begins at Forty*) Pitkin to Washington to "show Congress the pacifists do not represent the American people."

Dean Ford's division drummed up legions of professors to write pamphlets in special series he edited. Some of the university people who bound their brains in khaki for Uncle Sam: John J. Coss of Columbia, William Stearns Davis of Minnesota, Henry W. Farnum of Yale, Christine Ladd Franklin of Columbia, Christian Gauss, now dean of Princeton, Douglas W. Johnson, Evarts B. Greene and Charles D. Hazen now at Columbia, William H. Hobbs of Michigan, Vernon L. Kellogg of Stanford, Benjamin Brooks of Pittsburgh, Joseph Jastrow of Wisconsin, Andrew C. McLaughlin, now emeritus at Chicago, Dana Carleton Munro of Princeton, George C. Sellery, now dean at Wisconsin, August C. Krey, also of Wisconsin, George Winfield Scott of Columbia, James W. Garner, now at Illinois, James Searson of Kansas, John S. P. Tatlock, now at California, Talcott Williams of Columbia, Wallace Notestein, now of Yale, Elmer Stoll, now of Minnesota, and Stuart P. Sherman, noted literature scholar, who quoted Cicero and Milton to prove the purity of Allied ideals.

SCHOLARS ON THE MARCH

Some universities organized propaganda for war in a splendidly systematic fashion, offering whole divisions of scholars to the government, as can be seen from the list above, or carrying on on their own. The University of Chicago, for instance, was proud to have Profs. H. P. Judson, A. W. Small, A. C. McLaughlin, C. H. Judd, Conyers Read, and Edith Abbott write eight special war pamphlets. At Wisconsin, posing as patriots and military experts, C. E. Allen, M. S. Slaughter, E. B. McGilvary, W. A. Scott, E. B. Van Vleck, C. S. Slichter, George Wagner, and W. L. Westermann wrote a number of essays on the causes and issues of the war. Of that faculty of six hundred professors and instructors, only three went on record as opposed to the war. One was expelled for a wisecrack about a Liberty Loan button.

The most intellectual of the intellectuals were glad to enlist for the hack work. Josiah Royce, a noble name in American philosophy, marched forth righteously from his sanctum at Harvard to deliver an address in Tremont Temple on "The Duties of Americans in the Present War." That was Jan. 30, 1916, more than a year before we entered the war. Professor Royce became the philosophical mentor of the Citizens League for America and the Allies, formed in Boston. Other members were Richard Cabot of the Medical School at Harvard, William Ernest Hocking and Ralph Barton Perry of Harvard's philosophy department, Arthur Stanwood Pier of the English department, and Leo Wiener, of Slavonic literature.

Philosophy followed the dollar-signed flag. John Dewey at Columbia, Morris R. Cohen at New York's City College (now at Chicago), Arthur O. Lovejoy at Johns Hopkins, George Santayana at Harvard — all these philosophers wove straitjackets for the minds of the American people.

"A GIFT TO THE NATION"

The War Department and Creel's Committee on Public Information employed many professors directly in the government service. But there were hundreds of others on university faculties who did not wait for the official call before joining their voices to the obscene chorus of war. It was only two years before, in 1914, that the country's professors had recoiled in horror from the famous manifesto of their ninety-three German colleagues in defense of the kaiser's war. How could the liberal mind defend war? But in 1916-17 the campus intellectuals found reasons for imposing military service on the United States. War was healthy. War was regenerating. War was good.

And so overnight, in the echo of Wilson's war proclamation, the professors set up all kinds of organizations. Dean McClellan of the University of Pennsylvania founded and became the chief officer of the Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau, established to assign places in the government service to college men and women. Secretary of War Newton Baker called it "a gift to the nation, a gift of preparedness, alike for service in war and in peace."

The National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, though only partly academic in constitution, was controlled by six outstanding colleges: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cornell, Ohio State, the University of Texas, University of Illinois, and University of California. In and through these schools about eighteen hundred aviators a month were trained. "As aviation is primarily a scientific work it was fitting that those following this art should be trained in schools of science"—thus the rationale was prepared.

To give the War Department a hand in its work Prof. Walter Dill Scott of Northwestern organized a Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the Army. It classified men of draft age and condition on the basis of education and other, allied qualities. Professor Scott impressed on governmental authorities the value of scientific training as a military factor and boosted the scientific schools as training grounds for officers.

Fifteen of the foremost educational associations got together in the American Council on Education to:

> . . . place the educational resources of the country more completely at the service of the national government and its departments, to the end that, through an understanding cooperation, the patriotic services of the public schools, colleges, and universities may be augmented; that a continuous supply of educated men may be maintained; and greater effectiveness in meeting the educational problems arising during and following the war may be secured.

This Grand Council had charge of the publicity campaign for the Students Army Training Corps. It distributed a great amount of literature and carried on heavy correspondence. Its services were incalculable.

As "an agency of higher military education," the august Academy of Sciences established the National Research Council. Still there was room to use more professors. The War Department founded the Committee on Education and Special Training to represent it in relations with educational institutions. Together with the schools and colleges it formulated definite plans to train skilled men for the service. This committee supervised the "War-Aims Course," required at almost every American college and university under the Students Army Training Corps. It enabled the Creel committee to turn its hysterical pamphlets into authorized textbooks for the higher branches of learning.

THE BATTLE OF BOOKS

Book companies, visualizing the enormous sales of textbooks officially forced into the schools, battled for the prize of government sanction. Dean Ford, as the top man in the academic field, was called in to referee many a textbook fight. The companies circulated rumors that a rival's product was tainted with pro-Germanism, and sought the government's aid to have it banned from the schools. Scholarship became slapstick. Such standard works of history as Robinson and Beard, Beard and Bagley, were attacked viciously. By October 1918 the War Department itself had run up a list of seventy-five books banned from the army camps. On the Index Expurgatorius were such names as Ambrose Bierce, Henri Barbusse, and Frank Harris.

Seeking the shortest way to mold the public mind, the government had the hearty aid of those most experienced in "educational" techniques. Early in the war the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institute called a conference that set up the National Board for Historical Service. The eminent James T. Shotwell, now of Columbia, was the first chairman, and his associates were equally brilliant jewels in the crown of American scholarship: Evarts B. Greene, Frederick J. Turner, J. Franklin Jameson, William E.

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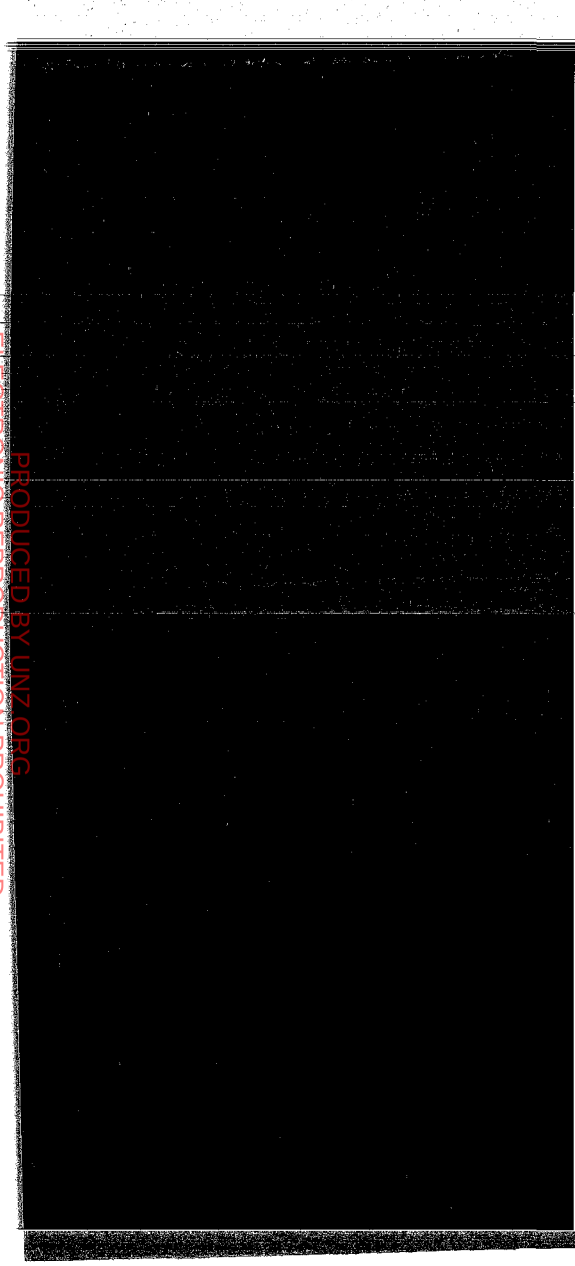

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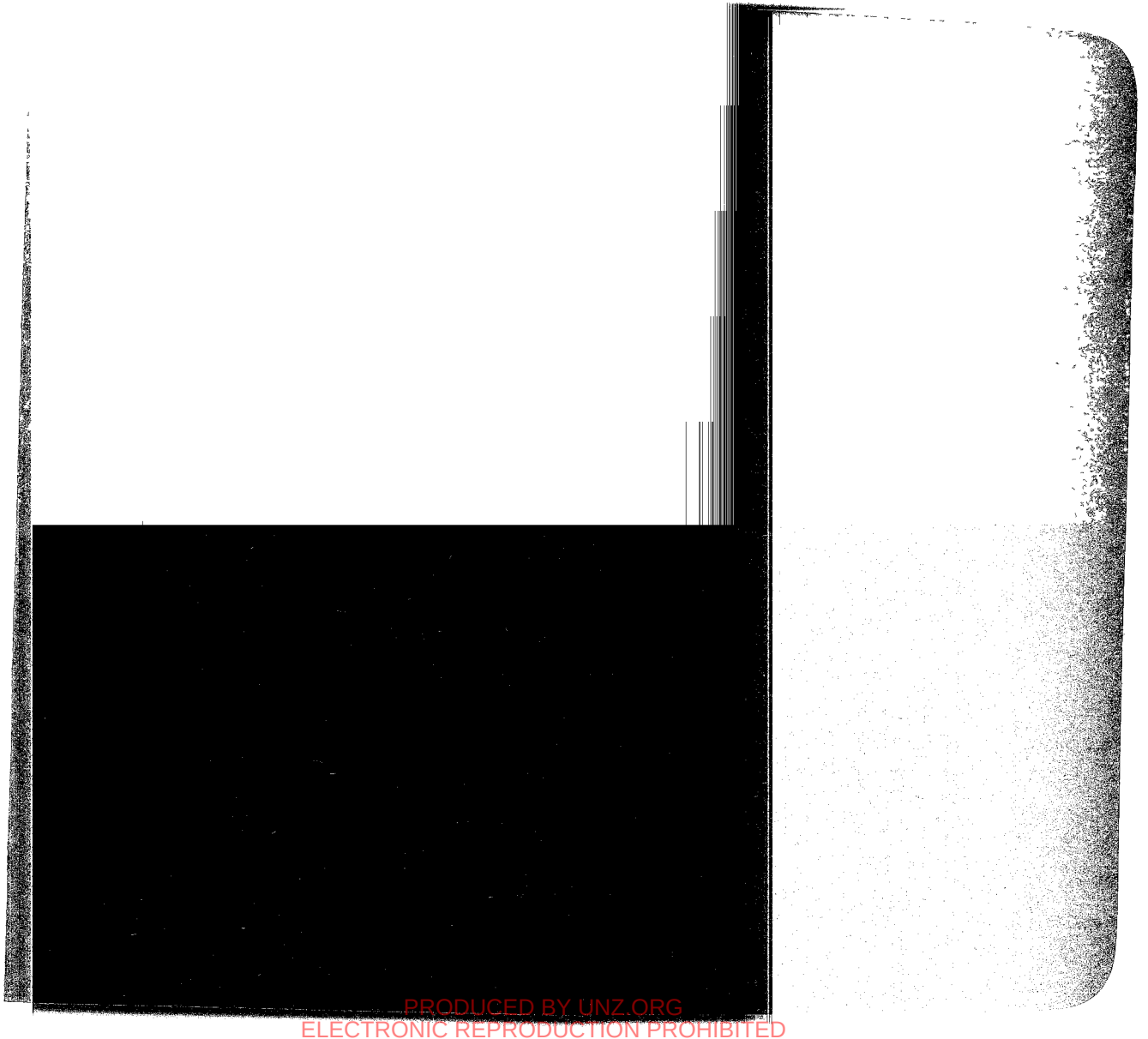

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Dodd, William E. Lingelbach, Archibald Cary Coolidge, Waldo G. Leland, Dana Carleton Munro——. Their first aim was to help Uncle Sam "through direct personal service." They also hoped "to aid the government in supplying the public with trustworthy information of historical or similar nature" and to encourage local and state groups. They were very useful to the Committee on Public Information in scholarship and editorial work, often publishing articles under their own distinguished bylines.

IN THE CLASSROOM

In the last months of the war, at the suggestion of the National Education Association, Dean Ford's committee got out the *National School Service,* a sixteen-page paper that was mailed free to teachers. It was attractive to young people because of its many war photos, and it gave in simple and easy form the "facts" of the war as they were understood in Washington. Dean Ford, William C. Bagley, James W. Searson, and Samuel B. Harding, professors all, skillfully edited the paper to make it useful in actual classroom work, in all fields from arithmetic to geography. That paper found its way into twenty million homes. Any pedagogue knows that if you can get certain ideas repeated often enough in the classroom, they will soon enough be heard in the home.

These scholars, these committees and boards and councils, these books and pamphlets and speeches are proof of the unanimity with which the American schools and colleges threw their support to the war. It only remains to sketch the physical appearance of the campus and its routine to complete this picture of the sellout of body, mind, and spirit.

By Act of Congress on June 3, 1916, the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) was established in one-third of all the colleges and universities, "in order that there may be, in time of national emergency, a sufficient number of educated men, trained in military science and tactics, to officer and lead intelligently the units of the large armies upon which the safety of the country will depend." That was a pre-war preparedness measure which gave way, when the war was actually upon us, to the Students Army Training Corps (SATC), set up by Congress on May 18, 1917. The purpose of the SATC was to utilize the plant, equipment, and organization of the colleges for selecting and training officers and technical experts for service. About five hundred colleges of every grade and description became, like the railroads during wartime, essentially governmental institutions. "All students who entered the American colleges in the autumn of 1918, either as freshmen or upperclassmen, being eighteen years of age and physically fit, became by their entrance, soldiers of the United States."

From the University of Maine to the University of Washington, students lived and studied under a military regime. At least eleven hours per week for drill, fourteen

Plea of the People

On the need of farmers and workers to serve each other

Hear us in our prejudices—
Listen to us in our special pleading—
Who would choose warmth and chuckling,
But fear desolation.
World too earnest,
In which we cannot be without vast documents.
Great understanding is needed, if we are but to have shelter.
Burden of a State
Wherein, by merely waiting,
We put misery upon our fellows.

See: we are fists, teeth, and searching, calculating eyes—
We have the sharpness of tigers about to leap forward.
An armory of nerve and muscle.
We are all girded, by the power of hating.
By the Jungle we are fitted.
Our eyes burn out of dark corners.
Leave us but our bodies and our sufferings, and we are armed.

We are weeping—
There is softness and gentleness within us—
We would be men of goodwill,
Bringing gifts to one another.

To be strong in hate or to rot in wretchedness—
Do not force us to this choice that is no choice:
Broken, or needing vengeance.

Let us use our muscles and our minds in service.
With eye, hand, and mental keenness let us
Be busied for the good of many.
Permit us to have as brothers
Men whom if they are less than brothers
We must vilify and lynch.

We plead
That the prey and combat of the Jungle state may be abolished
—Into the air
All about us
From tenements, streets, parched marginal farms,
We plead for the right of gentleness.
Our victors are not happy.
Those above us, who must seek profit,
They cannot.
And so must threaten us,
Or imprison us,
Or hang us,
Or burn us in the chair of justice,
Or goad us to bewildered conflicts with one another.

We have even hoped for the trenches,
That men might again be cronies.
We have even told ourselves how by the wars
We might again be brought together,
By the helpfulness of slaughter.
The wars are fuller than the peace,
In fellowship.

There is within us a realm of loveliness,
A willingness of warmth and chuckling.
All that we are as men working together
Waits within us.
We plead that our State be made in its image,
That children may retain their exceptional sweetness.

Let us arise like music—
Many instruments,
Singing in different voices,
Varied designs and timbres,
Disparate rhythms,
One single symphony.
Let us be like one chord set vibrant,
To which others are also set vibrant.

No less can save us.
No less than the blaze of glory,
Our vast uniting.

KENNETH BURKE.

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hours of lectures and recitations on military subjects, and one basic course for everyone on the aims of the war. "It's patriotic to go to college!" That was the college yell for 1918, bellowed by 150,000 young voices. The campus became the gateway to the field of war.

COED PATRIOTS

Nor were the women excluded. There were some five hundred colleges open to women in 1917, and these, like the men's, put themselves on a war basis. They respected food regulations, observing meatless and wheatless days, and established economies of all kinds. Parties, the cream of college life, were dropped. Proms, class days, and class plays went by the board. "No frills and frippery" was Vassar's motto. Formal courses to train women for special wartime activities were shoved into the curriculum. Telegraphy, map-making, first-aid, auto-mechanics were the thing. College girls were prepared for the Red Cross, to act as censors in the postoffice, publicity workers in defense councils, psychological examiners. They did welfare work in factories and worked at home and abroad as phone operators.

Reed College in Oregon formed a military organization divided into thirteen companies to do knitting. Vassar's girls did some 25,000 pieces of knitting for soldiers. The coeds furnished hostess houses at military camps, did farm labor in the summer of 1918. One girls' college sent six thousand letters to the front. Smith, Bryn Mawr, Mt. Holyoke, Wellesley all rendered special service to the government. Many sent Red Cross units overseas.

And the university administrators were so proud of the job they did for U. S. Steel, for J. P. Morgan & Co., for du Pont Chemicals . . . "The diversity of function rendered by the academic forces extended from the training of officers and of privates for military, naval, and aerial service to the discovery and publication of knowledge, from the heartening of professors and students in individual colleges to the mobilizing of all forces, intellectual and administrative, athletic and social, of all colleges and universities." Thus President Thwing of Western Reserve University at the end of the war, congratulating himself and his colleagues.

"But there were losses also in this academic revolution," President Thwing says in an aside. "The sum of them was a single loss. It was the loss of the higher education itself, it was the loss of culture, it was the loss of intellectual breadth; it was the loss of liberal learning."

DEATH OF FREE SPEECH

That loss was plain in the wave of reaction that swept over the schools and colleges from 1917 to the days of the Palmer raids in 1919-20. For the war imposed a rigid repression of freedom. Opponents of the war were silenced by any means available. You

Mischa Richter

were suspected not only if you openly opposed the war or were known as a pacifist, but if you did not actively support it. Silence was tantamount to pro-Germanism. Pressure was applied locally, investigations were made, positive proof of loyalty was required. Any teacher who stood up against the hysteria and hatred was hounded, kicked out of his job, sometimes beaten. In that time of great need for clear thinking and courageous action the teachers themselves, sucked into the whirlpool of demagogy and lies, persecuted their own fellows. The Committee on Academic Freedom of the American Association of University Professors supported the suppression of freedom in matters relating to the war. Under Professor Lovejoy's name it issued a manifesto that was welcomed warmly by Attorney General Palmer, the nation's chief witch hunter. The National Education Association took its stand with the militarists by canceling all honorary memberships of persons living in Germany. Boards and commissioners of education, in city after city and state after state, ruled that teachers must support the war. In December 1917 a large "loyalty meeting" of teachers at Stuyvesant High School in New York City applauded demands for the instant dismissal of "disloyal teachers."

FACULTY CASUALTIES

In the universities the reaction was the same. Professors and instructors who came out against the war or who even sought to investigate the facts prior to reaching a conclusion were summarily dismissed. Oregon kicked out Allen Eaton; Nebraska, four professors; California, George Hans. Michigan dismissed seven teachers "for pro-German leanings"; Minnesota evicted Professor Shapper for anti-war talk; Missouri persecuted Thorstein Veblen; Maine dismissed the dean of its law school; Virginia fired Leon Whipple for not subscribing to the Liberty Bonds; Rice Institute bounced one; Wellesley gave Prof. Emily Balch "an indefinite leave of absence"; Cornell bestowed the same on Professor Edgerton; Penn fired Scott Nearing; Columbia dismissed J. McKeen Cattell (after twenty-six years of service) and H. W. L. Dana.

In many cases free speech was denied guest speakers on the campus. At Columbia, Count Ilya Tolstoy, son of the great novelist, was scheduled to speak in February 1917 (before we were at war) on his father's Christian love doctrines. He was shut out at the last moment and students were told that thereafter they must submit programs and names of speakers for approval long in advance. At Harvard, President Lowell withdrew permission for Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington to speak on the ground that "college halls are not to be used for propaganda." Yet a short time before, Capt. Ian Hay Beith, official propagandist for the British, had been welcomed to Harvard.

Even the German language, an innocent item in the curriculum long antedating the war, fell under suspicion. Colleges dismissed about one-half their German teachers and the students of German fell to one-tenth of the pre-war enrollment. In most of the Western states legislators simply forbade further instruction in German in the schools and colleges. At CCNY they were more tactful—they simply reduced by one point the credit value of each course in the German department.

MUTINY

The facts are overwhelming. Almost no voices were raised in behalf of peace and freedom. Those who did speak out in the colleges were a brave but pitifully weak handful. At Minnesota a student attempt to hold an anti-war meeting was suppressed. At Michigan four students refused to register for the draft. A student at Ohio State was arrested for distributing anti-war literature. The Vassar *Miscellany Snooze,* student humor paper, put out a satiric "preparedness issue," as did the Princeton *Tiger*. Some Princeton students were part of a delegation of pacifist students who appeared before the U. S. Senate Committee on Military Affairs to protest against compulsory military training. Student anti-militarists in some ten colleges held a convention at Columbia on April 10, 1917, three days after Wilson's war proclamation, and organized an anti-conscription union. A month later seventy-five Columbia students held their own anti-draft meeting. Three were arrested. A handful of Yale men organized a branch of the College Anti-Military League and defied the draft law.

There were others like them—but only a few, and they were scattered about the country. Out of that time and that material, little more could come.

MILTON MELTZER.

This is the first of two articles by Mr. Meltzer on war propaganda in the colleges. The second will appear in an early issue.

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Silver Charlie's Stormtroopers

The political gorillas who carry the anti-Semitic exhortations of Father Coughlin into action. The Nazi Bund and Christian Front shed blood. The government doesn't interfere.

On July 9, 1938, Vladimir Kositzan, one of the most active Nazi propagandists in the United States, wrote to Ernst Goerner of Milwaukee, another active Nazi agent: "The seeds are on way to you. More of the Italian and English available yet. Polish will follow later, from my Erfurt nursery. I want to get rid of my supplies before my probable departure."

The "Erfurt nursery" is located in Erfurt, Germany, where *World Service,* the Nazi propaganda medium, is published in various languages for distribution throughout the world. Nazi ships smuggle this material into the United States which secret German agents distribute to groups, organizations, and individual propagandists. The "seeds," of course, were copies of *World Service,* published in the languages Kositzan listed. It was part of Kositzan's work to keep Goerner supplied with propaganda material and informed of likely prospects who would help distribute smuggled propaganda. Kositzan was a sort of wholesaler, while Goerner was one of the numerous agents handling the retail end.

At the top of this letter Kositzan typed the name and address: "Miss B. R. Burchett, 3411 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa." and scrawled in pencil: "Needs material. Mention me. Very active."

COUGHLIN'S DEFENDERS

July 1938 was the period when the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, the radio priest of Royal Oak, Mich., had already begun disseminating Nazi propaganda issued by the Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin and had launched his intensive anti-Semitic campaign. His efforts to arouse racial and religious hatred in this country brought prompt protests, not only from Jews but from high dignitaries of the Catholic Church and prominent Catholic laymen. Some radio stations refused to sell time to the priest without looking at his script to see if he was "bearing false witness" as former Gov. Alfred E. Smith had publicly charged. When Coughlin refused to submit to this "censorship" some radio stations would not let him go on the air. Groups to defend him suddenly popped up. They called meetings to demand that Coughlin be given his "constitutional rights of free speech." What these groups were and the leaders' strange tieups will be dealt with in this article. At the moment I am interested in Bessie Burchett, formerly head of the department of foreign languages in the South Philadelphia High School for Girls, the lady whose name Kositzan had sent to Goerner.

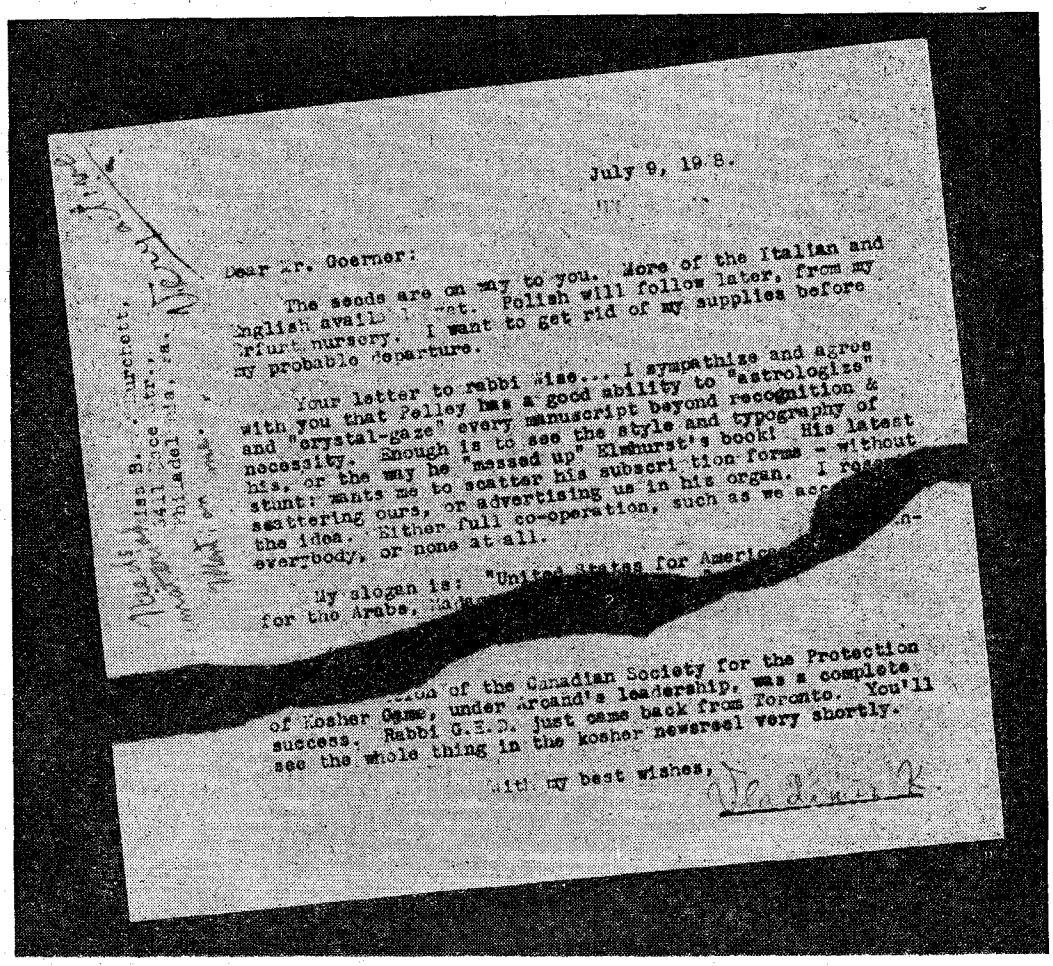
Within a few weeks after the Nazi agent in Milwaukee received Kositzan's letter, Miss Burchett was on the public platform with Nazi and Silver Shirt leaders, demanding that Coughlin be returned to the air. Most of her talks, delivered in an atmosphere of Hitler salutes, were vicious anti-Semitic diatribes. At no time did she mention how she became involved in Coughlin defense efforts or that she had received material from Nazi agents.

At about this same period a hungry looking young man named Edwin Westphall, appearing a bit seedy and down at the heels, managed to eke out an existence by peddling razor blades to the dinner and theater crowds on Times Square. Sometimes he made a couple of dollars, but it was hard sledding. Like most Broadway peddlers, there was something quick and alert about the seedy Mr. Westphall and he had that gift of gab so necessary if you're going to eat off the Broadway population.

"CRUSADERS FOR AMERICANISM"

Times Square, where Westphall roamed with the coming of night, was being made a concentration point by distributors of *Social Justice.* Frequently a *Social Justice* peddler and the hawker of razor blades found themselves side by side. One day Westphall disappeared, only to pop up again in the Bronx, clean-shaven, new shoes, new suit, spick and span, and an authority upon the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. He was indignant about the radio stations which would not permit Silver Charlie to go on the air before they saw if his talk tended to stir up racial and religious hatreds. The same glib tongue that sold razor blades now sold the need of "saving America" through the "Crusaders for Americanism," which was headed by one George A. Van Nosdall and had offices at 126 East 123rd St., New York City.

Frow now on we get into a group of closely cooperating men, most of them native Americans, some of them phonies and others just hopeful of becoming spies for foreign governments under ultra-patriotic yowls. All of them, I found, were galvanized into action to defend Coughlin's "right of free speech," and the unison with which these apparently separated individuals and leaders of groups raised the same rallying cry seems to point to one directive source.



July 9, 19 8.

Dear Mr. Goerner:

The seeds are on way to you. More of the Italian and English avail[illegible] yet. Polish will follow later, from my Erfurt nursery. I want to get rid of my supplies before my probable departure.

Your letter to Rabbi Wise... I sympathize and agree with you that Pelley has a good ability to "astrologize" and "crystal-gaze" every manuscript beyond recognition & necessity. Enough is to see the style and typography of his, or the way he "messed up" Elmhurst's book! His latest stunt: wants me to scatter his subscription forms - without scattering ours, or advertising us in his organ. I reje[illegible] the idea. Either full co-operation, such as we acc[illegible] everybody, or none at all.

My slogan is: "United States for Americ[illegible] for the Arabs, Ma[illegible]

[illegible]ion of the Canadian Society for the Protection of Kosher Cgme, under Arcand's leadership, was a complete success. Rabbi G.E.S. just came back from Toronto. You'll see the whole thing in the kosher newsreel very shortly.

With my best wishes,

NAZI DOUBLETALK. *Vladimir Kositzan, Nazi propagandist in the United States, writes an agent concerning distribution of pamphlets straight from Erfurt, Germany. Bessie Burchett, Philadelphia school official, is acknowledged as a "very active" Nazi propagandist there.*

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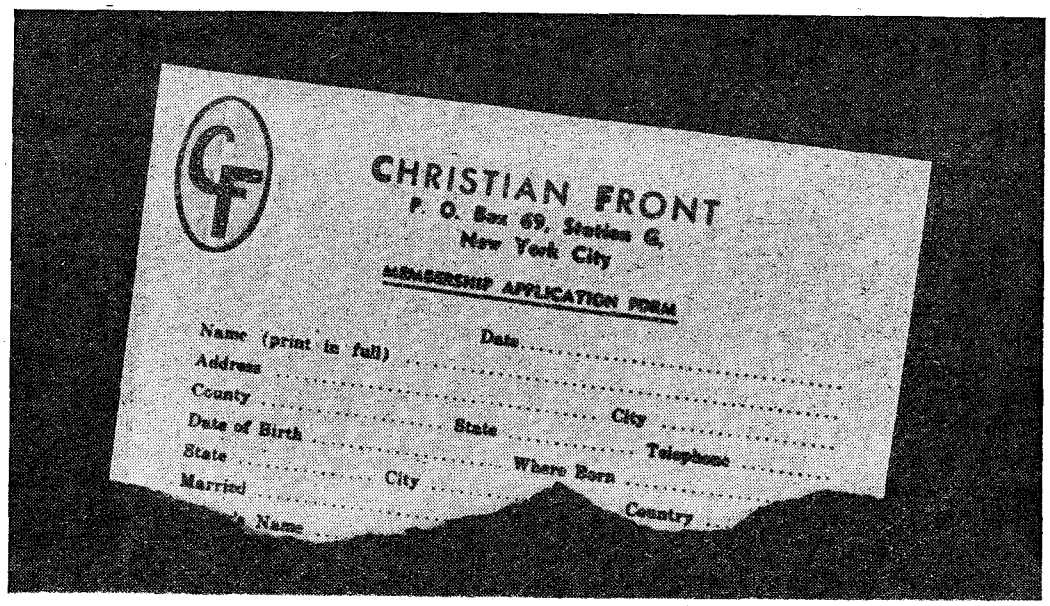
Van Nosdall, who headed the outfit to save America, was closely tied up with Nazi agents and was publicly proclaimed by Fritz Kuhn, sentenced to Sing Sing as a common thief, as "the greatest living American." Besides being a crusader he was a bit gory. At one of the Coughlin defense meetings, held at Triboro Palace, Bronx, N. Y., he gave the Nazi salute to the applauding crowd and shouted: "When we get through with the Jews in America they'll think the treatment they received in Germany was nothing. . . . Judaistic gore will soon flow in the streets of New York City!"

SMYTHE AND ZOLL

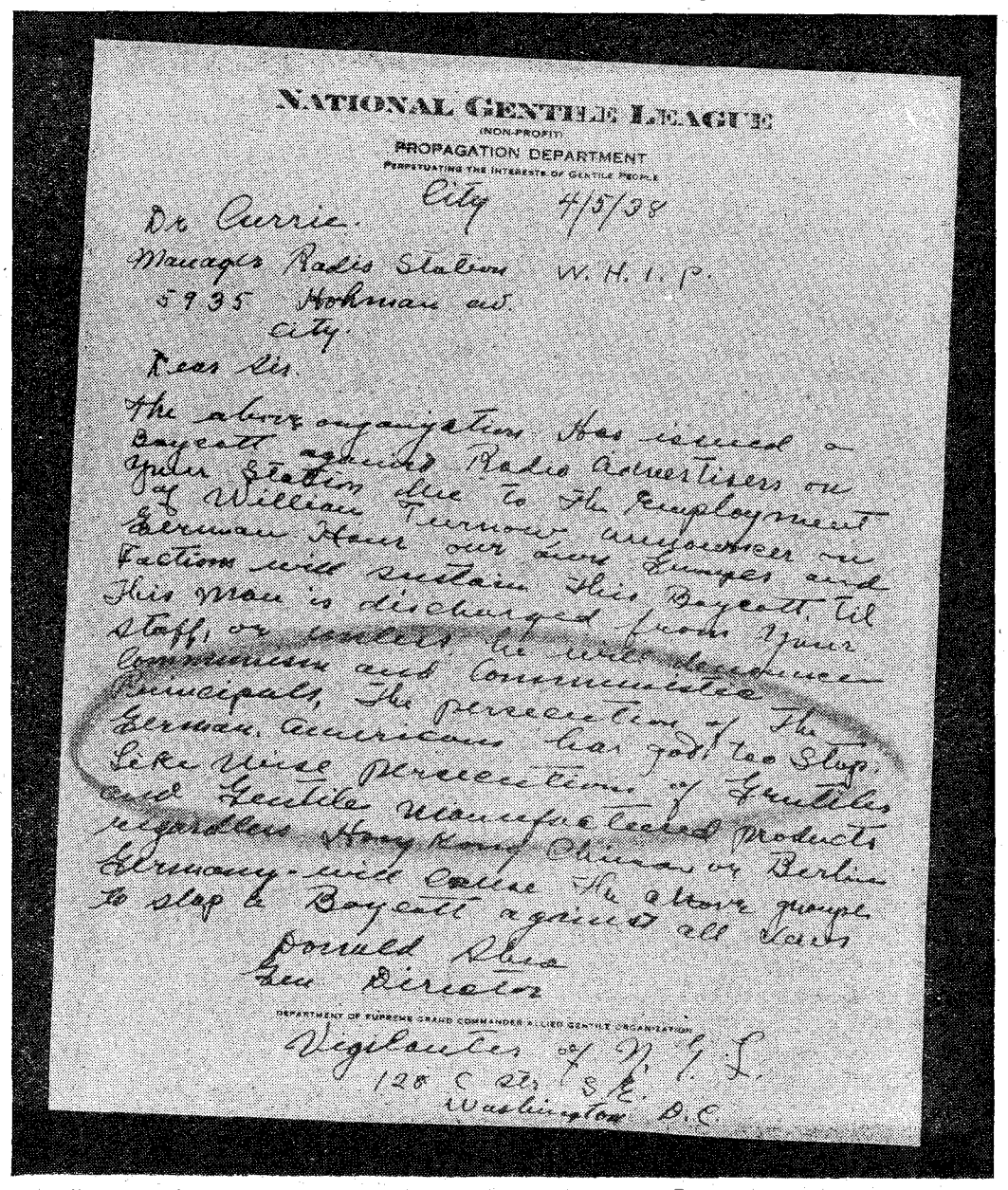
One of the frequent chief speakers for this outfit demanding that Coughlin be permitted to speak without submitting his script for a check on his alleged facts, was G. Wilhelm Kunze, press agent for the German-American Bund. Lined up with Van Nosdall and frequently conferring with him in secret sessions was Edward James Smythe, a drunk who ran an imposing outfit called "Protestant War Veterans of the U. S.," with offices at 149 Vermilyea Ave. in New York. Smythe was one of the chief organizers of the Christian Front, Silver Charlie's stormtroopers. Another of Coughlin's chief defenders, who went to Royal Oak to discuss with the priest what steps to take to regain the lost radio stations, was Allen Zoll, who was arrested for trying to extort $7,500 from WMCA, in return for calling off the picketline of Christian Fronters he had thrown around the station. Part of Zoll's story is now in the police records, but before he was picked up the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, Silver Charlie's Eastern voice, hailed him as "one of America's great patriots."

I don't know if Father Curran knew that in his patriotic zeal to save America Zoll had gone to Germany in 1936 to confer with Goebbels, whom he met at the Hotel Adlon in Berlin. Shortly after his return to the United States Zoll approached Dr. Roy Akagi, Japanese propagandist in this country, and offered the services of "American Patriots, Inc." which the America saver had organized, to the Japanese government for $5,000 a month. Dr. Akagi smelled a rat and declined.

Zoll went into the business of rescuing the country by cultivating blueblooded old ladies with fat checkbooks and a holy horror that Reds were under their beds with two plots to nationalize them in every beard. His incorporated patriotism arranged small luncheons to which select groups of the nice old ladies were invited to hear how the Reds and the Jews were just about ready to gobble them up. The stated object of "American Patriots, Inc." was "to preserve America and American principles"—a line invariably used by racketeers in patriotism. The luncheons were usually held at the Hotel Iroquois in New York, and a lot of the old ladies got indigestion from what they heard. When they were properly worried the patriot gave 'em the works.



THE "CHRISTIAN FRONT." *When the Christian Front first organized it feared that it would become known that the address was the Paulist Fathers rectory, 413 West 59th St., New York City, so mail was addressed to Post Office Box 69, Station G., which was taken out in the name of and paid for by the Paulist Fathers. Walter Ogden, Paulist registrar, is leader of the CF.*


NATIONAL GENTILE LEAGUE
(NON-PROFIT)
PROPAGATION DEPARTMENT
PERPETUATING THE INTERESTS OF GENTILE PEOPLE
City 4/5/38
Dr Currie.
Manager Radio Station W. H. I. P.
5935 Hohman ave.
City.
Dear Sir.
The above organization has issued a
Boycott against Radio Advertisers on
your Station due to the employment
of William Fuhrer anti-Gentile
German Nazi sympathizers or
Factions with certain Jew Baiting Til
This Man is discharged from your
staff or boycott be withdrawn
Communism and Communistic
Principals, The persecutions of the
German Americans has got to stop.
Like wise persecutions of Gentiles
and Gentile manufactured products
regardless Hong Kong China or Berlin
Germany - with Color The above groups
to stop & Boycott agreed all Vars
Donald Shea
Gen Director
DEPARTMENT OF PURPOSE GRAND COMMANDER ALLIED GENTILE ORGANIZATION
Dictaphone of N. G. L.
128 C St. S.E.
Washington D.C.

THE "GENTILE" FUEHRER. *Donald Shea, general director of the National Gentile League, demands Gentile-manufactured products "regardless Hong Kong, China, or Berlin, Germany." He's also a prominent anti-Catholic crusader.*

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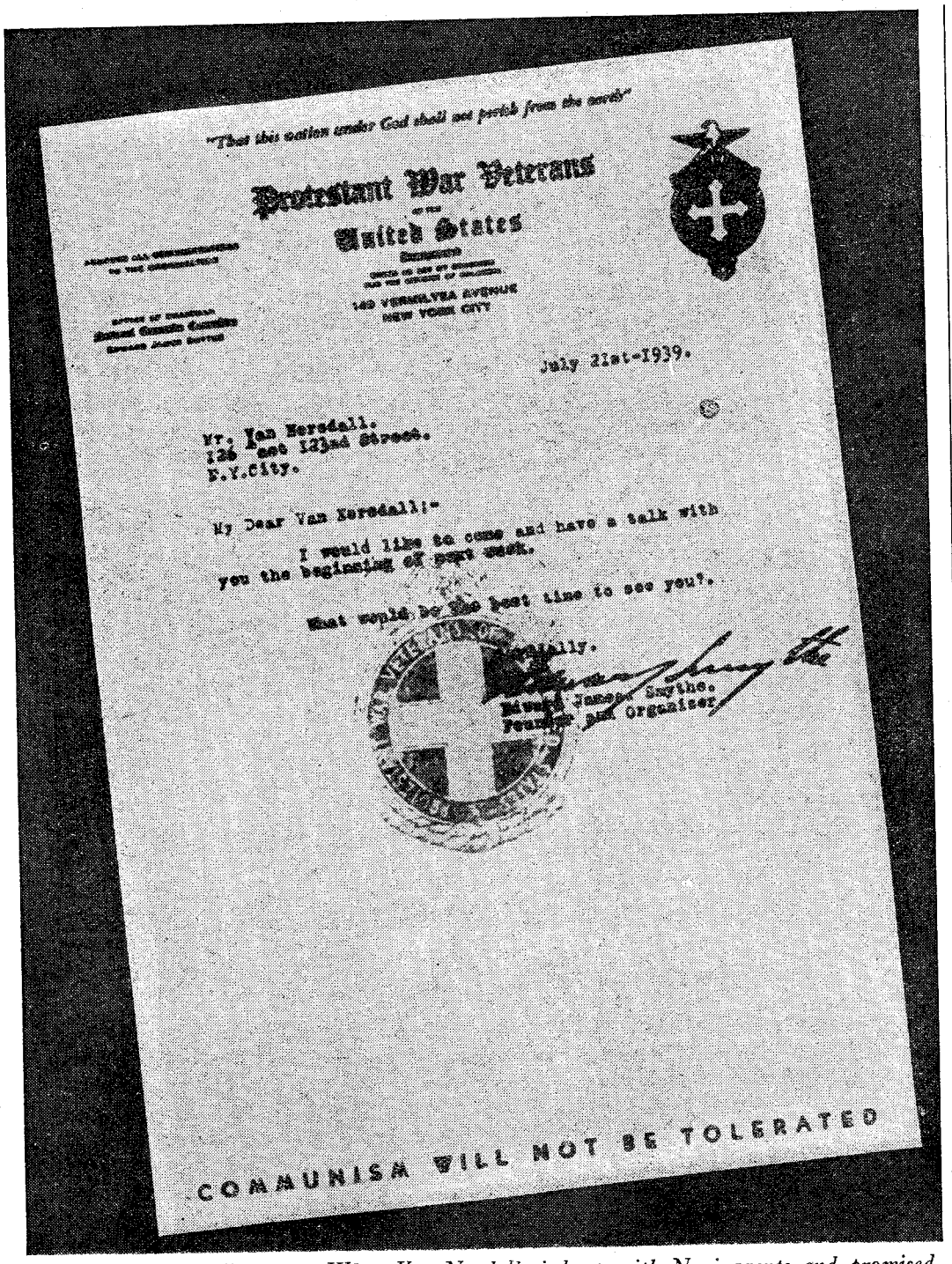
"That this nation under God shall not perish from the earth"

Protestant War Veterans
of the
United States

140 VERMILYEA AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

July 21st-1939.

Mr. Van Nosdall.
126 East 123rd Street.
N.Y.City.

My Dear Van Nosdall:-
I would like to come and have a talk with you the beginning of next week.

What would be the best time to see you?.

Cordially.

Edward James Smythe.
Founder P.W.V. Organizer.

COMMUNISM WILL NOT BE TOLERATED

THE "ANTI-SEMITIC" FRONT. *When Van Nosdall tied up with Nazi agents and promised that "Jewish gore" would run in the streets of New York, Edward James Smythe, Silver Charlie's aide in the Christian Front, wrote to him for a conference. Van Nosdall now operates Protestant Veterans.*

One of Zoll's close associates who watched the activities of "American Patriots, Inc." was an elderly dumpy woman known as Mrs. Leslie Fry, who lived a rather mysterious existence in Glendale, Calif. She had no visible means of support but never seemed to lack money. He brought her up to a couple of his meetings, which she watched with shrewd, appraising eyes.

THE MYSTERIOUS MRS. FRY

I had come across this lady in the course of looking into Nazi and Japanese espionage activities on the West Coast. The mysterious Mrs. Fry had supplied Henry Allen, a native American with a couple of prison terms behind him, with money to make an important trip East. Allen was the liaison man between secret Nazi agents in this country and Mexico. On this trip East he had been instructed to see Fritz Kuhn first, after which he called at the Italian and Rumanian embassies in Washington. When these calls were completed he met with James True, a well known Nazi propagandist operating out of Washington, and True subsequently wrote to Allen that he was now in a position to get him U. S. Army supplies "in any quantity." When I published these letters, though I did not mention Mrs. Fry, she skipped from her usual haunts and, since American Intelligence officers made no effort to pick her up, appeared again several months later in the Midwest.

Among those who also worked closely with Zoll in the efforts "to save Coughlin's constitutional rights" was Robert Edmund Edmondson, whose activities as a Nazi propagandist are now too well known to necessitate my presenting evidence of it. The Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, Father Coughlin's Eastern representative, who had hailed Zoll as "one of America's great patriots," arranged a big patriotic fest at the Hotel Iroquois at which the Constitution was to be saved. A number of organizations were handpicked to participate in this Coughlin defense drive:

"Citizens Protective League," headed by Kurt Mertig, a Nazi and one of the chief propagandists for the German-American Bund. Associated with Mertig was Edward James Smythe, an organizer for the Christian Front, who headed a two-by-four outfit with the imposing name of "Protestant War Veterans of the U. S."

"League for Constitutional Government," headed by John B. Snow, a professional patriot.

"Patriotic Service Bureau," Mrs. "Red Network" Dilling's organization.

"The International Catholic Truth Society," headed by Father Curran.

"Catholic War Veterans of America," founded by the Rev. Higgins, who serves as pinch-hitter for Father Curran.

Both Father Curran and Father Higgins batted a pretty good average in spreading anti-Semitic propaganda in their own speeches.

It was in this period that Zoll took a flying trip to Royal Oak to confer with Silver Charlie on what to do about WMCA cutting him off the air. Upon his return Zoll organized the picketline around WMCA and then, the police charge, tried a little flyer in extortion which landed him in jail.

The fact that this would-be spy for Japan, Nazi propagandist, and leader of the Coughlin defense forces was arrested for attempted extortion is of less significance than that Seward Collins, the literary fascist who edits the *American Review,* promptly bailed him out. Collins happened to be the man who put up $5,000 as bail for Mrs. Maria Griebl, wife of the suspected Nazi spy who fled to Germany in the sensational spy case which resulted in four German spies being convicted. Why the man who supplied bail for persons involved in a Nazi spy ring suddenly popped up to bail out one of Coughlin's chief defenders has never been explained.

Van Nosdall, Westphall, Goerner, Kositzan, Zoll, Mrs. Fry—and this is only a fraction of the list—all of them were tied up with Nazi agents in this country and all were galvanized into action at the same time to save Coughlin's right to spread his propaganda. I mentioned these few names only to illustrate the strange and unexplained affinity between the radio priest and Nazi agents—and I haven't listed all of them by a long shot.

These "patriots" whom earnest and well-meaning Americans are following eat, pay rent, travel around, pay for halls to hold meetings, print propaganda, and pay organizers. Contributions received at their meetings are frequently insufficient to cover even meeting hall expenses. Suckers with fat checkbooks are getting a bit scarce since too many "unselfish patriots" turned out to be crooks. But

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the money is still coming from mysterious sources who are anxious for Silver Charlie to continue with his propaganda.

STORMTROOPERS

Many of these super-patriots closely tied up with Nazi agents are found working with the "Christian Front," Silver Charlie's stormtroop organization which is guided in the East by the Rev. Peter Baptiste Duffe, pastor of St. Francis of Assisi Church, Seventh Ave. and 31st St., New York City. Father Duffe acts as a sort of clearing house through which important problems are relayed to Coughlin. The chief contact man with Father Duffe is Carl Pinkston, president of "Social Justice Distributors Club," with offices in Donovan Hall, 308 West 59th St., a place also used for Christian Front meetings. Pinkston, as a side issue, organizes small military groups which drill twice a week in the hall, and the Social Justice Club pays him for the time he puts in drilling them. None of the units trained in military maneuvers is apprised of the existence of others, lest word get out that a large private army is being fostered and trained.

I have never been certain, after looking into Silver Charlie's financial wizardry, whether the Christian Front was organized to save Christianity or to get peddlers for his privately owned *Social Justice*. It's not easy to get volunteer street salesmen, even though they do make a few cents on each copy sold, because the magazine doesn't sell so fast. I've watched salesmen in various cities and frequently they spend a whole day without selling half a dozen copies. Even if they got the magazines for nothing, which they don't, it still wouldn't pay; they could earn more selling a local newspaper. But on a high religious and patriotic plane you can get volunteers, which is one of the functions of the Christian Front. I noticed that when the sales of *Social Justice* are interfered with, Silver Charlie gets really vicious, as when he threatened to show the country "the Franco way."

He apparently doesn't care much by what subterfuge of sharp practice he controls and runs his private business venture. He established a special corporation named the "Social Justice Poor Society," whose object is "to aid the poor and destitute" to control it. This corporation never lifted a finger for the poor. It's simply a gag utilizing Christian charity to put over private business deals.

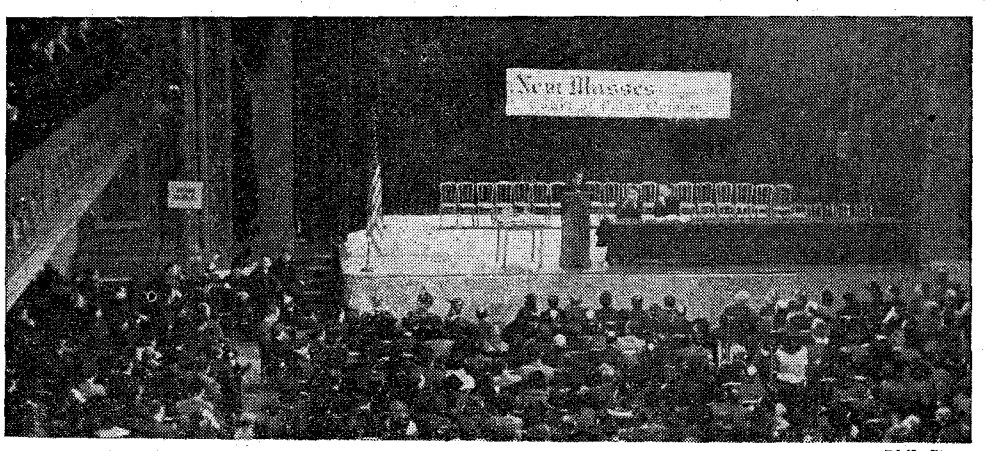
WHO'S THE "ANGEL"?

The period when his business venture started to lose money heavily, sums which were not met by sales or contributions from the public, is the same period when he apparently found an angel to meet the magazine's deficits. Oddly enough, it was also the period when he began to spread Nazi propaganda, launched his anti-Semitic campaign, and started to organize the Christian Front, modeled upon Hitler's Brown Shirts and Mussolini's Black Shirts.

The Christian Front was born during the days of the Spanish civil war. It was organized with a great deal of secrecy lest public denunciation follow the discovery that stormtroopers were being trained "to save Christianity," since such a move could mean only an attempt to supersede the forces of law and order. Meetings were held secretly in the Paulist Fathers' rectory at 413 West 59th St. in New York and mail was received through a postoffice box to prevent the headquarters from becoming known. The box was 69, Station G, which was taken out in the name of and paid for by the Paulist Fathers.

Silver Charlie had cast longing eyes upon a stormtroop organization for some years, but apparently felt that the time wasn't ripe. With the Spanish civil war the tory accusation that Franco was fighting a Red Spain and the knowledge that in the main the Catholic hierarchy supported Franco supplied the opening to establish stormtroops "to defend Christianity."

So far as I have been able to trace it, this desire for a body of plug-uglies goes back to the days when Newton Jenkins directed the Coughlin-Lemke party in the 1936 presidential campaign. Jenkins was openly pro-Hitler and tried to organize stormtroopers on the Hitler model. When Coughlin's attempt to put his own man in the White House flopped, Jenkins slipped out of the picture for a while, but Coughlin apparently never lost sight of the need of a body of men trained



Phil Stern

Mr. Murphy, What About Coughlin?

THREE thousand persons in Manhattan Center, New York City, heard John L. Spivak charge that the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin has apparently violated federal laws. Mr. Spivak's address included other aspects of Father Coughlin's relationships with Nazi agents and notorious anti-Semites like Henry Ford. He named names, gave dates, and offered photostatic copies of the documents which reinforced his charges.

During the question period almost all the queries sent up to the speaker's table asked why the U. S. Department of Justice or the Post Office Department has taken no steps for further investigation of Father Coughlin and, if Mr. Spivak's documents are found unanswerable, why the federal government has not undertaken prosecution of the radio priest. Mr. Spivak replied that the material and the documents have been offered the authorities by NEW MASSES.

Though the evidence against the priest is considered overwhelming by our readers, we have received only formal and routine replies from the government agencies. There is no assurance that serious investigation of the radio priest is contemplated. On the other hand, Washington has evidenced great zeal and enthusiasm in prosecuting labor leaders on the flimsiest technicalities and has instituted a drive against Communists that violates the substance and spirit of the Bill of Rights. The drive against all of labor and progressive organizations has gathered great momentum, while the real enemies of the American people go unscathed.

Whether the authorities act against native fascists of Father Coughlin's type depends upon the public's demand. Mr. Murphy and the FBI must realize they are the servants of the American people. Criminal prosecution of such fascists as Father Coughlin depends upon the political situation, and public pressure will determine whether the radio demagogue's activities will be ended—whether "Jewish blood will flow on New York streets."

The editors urge you to write to the U. S. Department of Justice and the Post Office Department to ask why they are not taking genuine action on the basis of Mr. Spivak's evidence. According to information received in this office, Father Coughlin's stormtroopers are preparing another siege of violence in New York City. The authorities must be made to understand that the American people regard their silence as tacit endorsement of Father Coughlin's policies. THE EDITORS.

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in military fashion. With the launching of his anti-Semitic campaign, he urged his followers to establish "platoons," and on May 23, 1938, urged that each platoon "be composed of no more than twenty-five members."

On June 13, 1938, he again addressed his following: "You and your group are directly affiliated to me." In one issue of *Social Justice* a "spokesman" for Silver Charlie said: "When the proper moment arrives, and not before that time, Father Coughlin will assemble all organizations whose leaders care to follow him."

This was the beginning of his attempt to use the Christian Front as an organization to which other pro-Hitler organizations could gravitate. These "other organizations" were loosely drawn together in the campaign to save his "rights of free speech." A "Committee for Defense of American Constitutional Rights" was established under the guidance of Father Curran and Zoll and offices were opened at 11 Broadway in New York. Sometimes this committee was also known as "Friends of Christian Social Justice."

Associated in this outfit, driven a little nuts with alarm for the Constitution were:

"German-American Bund" and "German-American Business League." Both of these outfits are too well known as Nazi propaganda mediums to require further details.

"Social Justice Distributors Club"; president, Carl Pinkston; headquarters, 308 West 59th St., N. Y. C. The purpose of this organization is "to organize the distribution and circulation of *Social Justice* magazine."

"American Nationalists," commanded by Dudley P. Gilbert, 2 West 45th St., N. Y. C., who started a few years ago in El Paso, Tex., and met secretly with Gen. Nicolas Rodriguez, commander of the Mexican Gold Shirts, which was organized by Nazi agents operating out of Los Angeles, Calif.

"Citizens Protective League," headed by Kurt Mertig, one of the German-American Bund chief propagandists. Associated with Mertig is Edward James Smythe, Coughlin representative.

There are a few others, but this will give the reader an idea of the defenders of the American Constitution who promptly inserted an ad on Dec. 15, 1938, in the *Deutsches Weckruf und Beobachter,* official organ of the Nazi Bund, for the "patriotic" rally at the Manhattan Opera House.

Much of the activity of these groups operating under the leadership of the Christian Front and the Social Justice Distributors Club was devoted to selling Coughlin's magazine, and I am not at all sure whether this patriotic fervor wasn't just one of Silver Charlie's ways of playing a patriotic air while the suckers boosted his magazine.

JOHN L. SPIVAK.

Next week: John L. Spivak tells the documented story from Silver Charlie Coughlin's own ledgers of the million dollars collected from the public for his Radio League broadcasts, how much his network of stations cost, and the mystery surrounding the difference. This will be the final article in the series.

Not as Advertised

J. B. Matthews, the Consumers Research man, stooges for the advertisers and Hearst's publisher.

THE greatest menace to advertised products, ranging from Scot Tissue to exploded rice, is not the still small consumer movement of the United States. Nor is it J. B. Matthews, whose screwball Red-baiting report via the Dies committee absolved his own Consumers Research Co., Inc., of having any interest in protecting consumers. The real menace to advertised products today, as any agency account man can tell you, is that ineffable chowderhead, Richard E. Berlin, publisher of *Good Housekeeping* magazine. For Dick Berlin hurled a Red stink bomb a few months ago that was not tested by Good Housekeeping Institute. It was the bouncing kind. It's still bouncing to the glee of all savvy citizens.

Four months ago the sober Federal Trade Commission, which was set up to prevent some too enterprising business man from selling the U. S. Treasury Building to an unwitting visitor for a fruitstand, complained that *Good Housekeeping,* Hearst's biggest money-making magazine, was indulging in "misleading and deceptive acts and practices in the issuance of Guarantys, Seal of Approval, and the publication in advertising pages of grossly exaggerated and false claims for products advertised therein." In other words, Good Housekeeping Institute, that magazine's phony consumer protective service, was endorsing and even gilding the golden boasts of its advertisers. It was a good promotion dodge and netted a cool two or three million dollars a year net profit in advertising revenue for the magazine. This neat racket annoyed the other women's magazines like the *Ladies Home Journal, McCall's,* and *Woman's Home Companion* who didn't have such an added instrument for gulling their credulous readers.

The advertisers got sore, too, because the absence of a Good Housekeeping seal made them feel inferior and they had to come across with a big advertising schedule for *GH* in order to get the "Guaranty and Seal of Approval." Both these groups may have blown the whistle for the Federal Trade Commission, just as the New York department stores had the Better Business Bureau close down on Macy's a few years ago for spuriously proclaiming that it sold "for 6 percent less" than its competitors.

While the FTC hearings were going on, Dick Berlin thought to cash in on the advertisers' worry about ad debunking (started by Consumers Research publication *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs*) and let out a Red-baiting blast that: "Certain subversive elements, pretending to serve the consuming public but actually motivated by Communistic theories, have persistently been attacking the institution of advertising and *Good Housekeeping* as a leading medium in the field. We believe that this subversive movement must be publicly exposed."

Last week, J. B. Matthews of Consumers Research issued a single-handed report from the Dies committee offices listing Consumers Union, the League of Women Shoppers, and the Consumers National Federation as Communist organizations out to do in the advertising industry. Hearst papers played up this staged expose which fooled no one, not even Dies committeeman Congressman Voorhis, who denounced it.

Business Week, magazine spokesman for hardboiled American big business, pointed out an angle:

> The Dies committee is running out of money. It is due to end with the new session of Congress, unless new money is appropriated. Chairman Dies may very well be counting on business interest in the consumer movement to act as a lever to get the money.

There are other inside angles that provide laughs:

Good Housekeeping readers, who might have thought a Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval meant that the product so labeled had been tested for their benefit by the magazine, now are advised by the magazine's publisher that *GH* would never doubt an advertiser.

Ditto for the subscribers to Consumers Research, which J. B. Matthews helped found to expose advertisers and which now acts as stooge for *Good Housekeeping,* Hearst's golden egg.

Good Housekeeping editor Willie Bigelow, founder of the Institute, is plenty sore. After having built up the magazine over twenty years, he sees smilin' Dick Berlin ruining the racket through ineptness. Last year, Berlin tried to oust Bigelow but was prevented by the lord of San Simeon, who knows a golden-egg-laying goose when he sees one. Bigelow, incidentally, is a sympathizer of American Reds—the kind they keep on reservations.

Good Housekeeping solicitors are getting a terrible ribbing from advertising agency men as the new contracts come up and the Institute's "Seal of Approval" gets a kicking around in all the papers, with the big blast from the Federal Trade Commission yet to come.

J. B. Matthews, fouling his own nest with the Red-consumer tirade, has hit plenty of anti-Red pals who champion the consumer movement as "the Middle Way." Finland's consumer co-ops, for instance, are being touted as "proof" of the democracy of the Bank of Finland's regime by such radicals as Herbie Hoover and Thomas J. Watson of the International Chamber of Commerce.

It's Hearst by his own petard, as the old saying goes.

JAMES PICA.

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Mr. His

A Children's Story

by

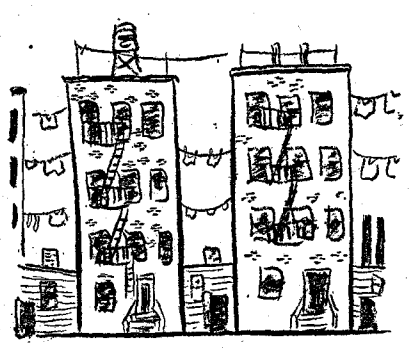
A. Redfield

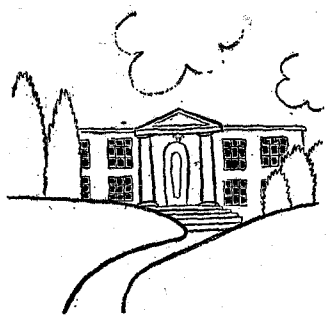
1

ONCE upon a time there was a fat little man whose name was Mr. His. He was a very rich little man and he lived in a little town which was called Histown because everything in it was his. The fields of wheat and corn, the fruit trees, the great mines—everything was his. Was the sky his, too? It didn't matter because hardly anyone in Histown ever looked up to see if it was a blue sky, a gray sky, or any old sky.

2

THERE were lots of houses in Histown but they weren't nice places at all. They were old and tumbledown and fire could break out in any one of them at a minute's notice. Not one of them was fit for a human being.





3

O, YES! There was one house in Histown fit for a human being. It was a very lovely house made of marble and glass and steel. No fire could break out here! No disease, no vermin! Here, indeed, was a house fit for a human being. Any human being? No. Only one. A very special human being. Mr. His.

4

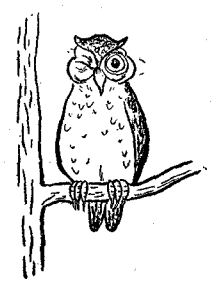
WOULD you like to own everything? Sure you would! Then you could buy anything you wanted and have so much fun! But would you like to own everything while everybody else had nothing? That wouldn't be much fun, would it? Well, maybe it wouldn't be fun for you because you'd worry about others. But not Mr. His. He had *lots of fun. He didn't worry about* others. He didn't even know there were any.

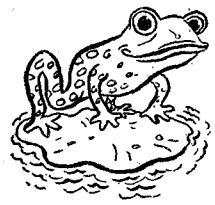
5

EVERY day he would skip through the street with a paper and pencil in his hands, figuring up profits, and singing as loud as he could. "Do! Re! Mi! Fa!" he would sing. "Sol! La! Ti! Do!" The poor people of Histown would hear him coming and would run into their houses and lock the doors. For though Mr. His had everything there was one thing he had not—friends.

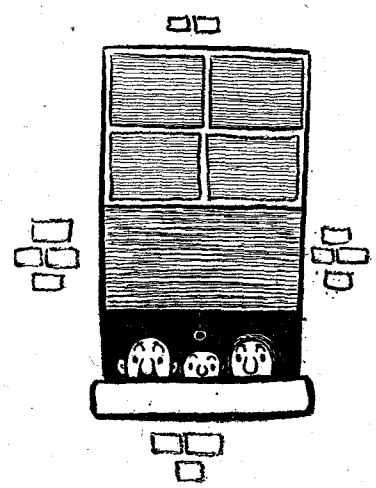
6

O, YES. He did have two friends. But they weren't persons. They were animals. One was a wise old owl who lived in a tree. The other was a little frog who lived in a brook. Every day Mr. His would stand under





the tree and say: "Whose is Histown?" And the wise old owl would say: "His is Histown." Then Mr. His would call into the brook: "Ain't it grand?" And the little frog would croak: "Sure His. Sure His."



7

THEN Mr. His would go skipping along again, paper and pencil going a mile a minute, and singing louder than ever. And the poor people would peep through their windows and shiver. They didn't know it made Mr. His very happy to see they were afraid of him and that they were doing nothing to improve their lot. For there were no strikes in Histown—and *no picketlines and no unions.* The newspapers, which Mr. His owned too, said that these things were wicked.

8

EVERY night for supper Mr. His had enough food on his table for all the people in Histown. But, of course, it was all for him. Mr. His never cut his own food because his hands would be busy with paper and pencil, figuring up profits. The butler, Thorndyke, would cut his master's food and hold

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9

. His would eat so
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carry him upstairs
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10

Mr. His was dream-
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ıg signs which read:
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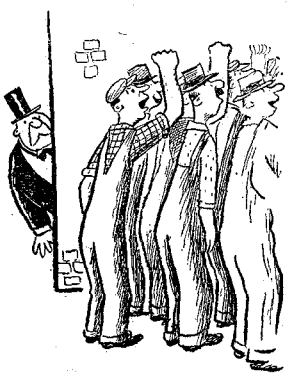
His is a scoundrel."



11

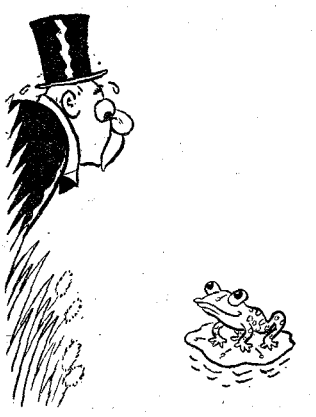
With a roar Mr. His put on his clothes and ran out of the house to get advice from his two friends. Down the road he sped. But how different Histown was today. As he passed his factory Mr. His saw all the men standing outside. "Build the union!" the men were yelling. "Build the union!"

12

By this time Mr. His was sweating terribly, and it wasn't all from running. Presently he reached the woods. Here too things were different. The squirrels were running up and down with signs: "Phooey on Mr. His." "We're tired of nerts—we want nuts!"

13

He stood under the tree where the wise old owl lived, and cried: "Whose is Histown?" And the owl replied: "His is Histown." Mr. His was about to sigh with relief when the wise owl added: "But not for long."



14

Mr. His turned purple with anger, fear, surprise and amazement. He called into the brook where lived the little frog: "O, what shall I do?" Croaked the frog: "You can do like me." "What?" cried Mr. His. "Croak," said the frog. "Haw! Haw!"

15

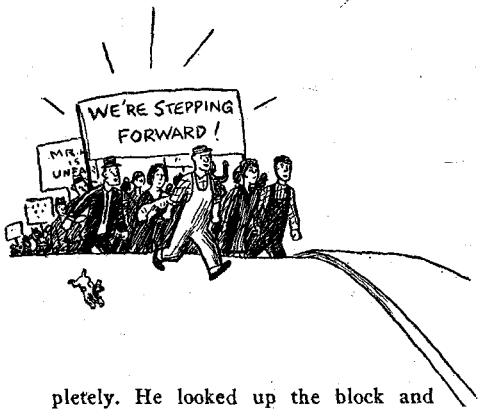
Disgusted with his friends, Mr. His sat down on a rock. He thought and thought. Finally he leaped up, saying: "I got it!" Quick as he could he hurried to his printing office. In hardly any time a newspaper was rolling off the presses. Mr. His picked up a bundle and ran into the street.

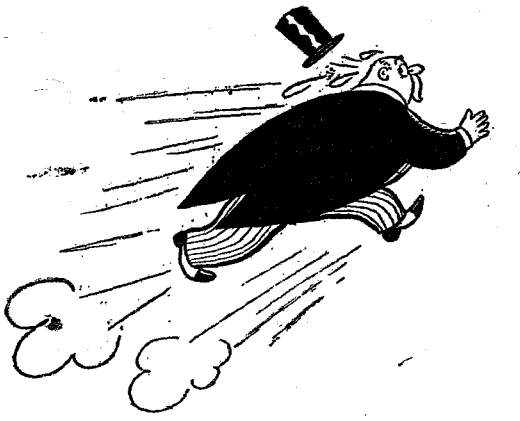
16

"Wuxtry!" he shouted. "Read all about it! Blondes—your real enemy is brunettes! Brunettes, your real enemy is redheads! Baldheads—take your choice." Sales were pretty good for a while. People came up to where Mr. His stood, smiling at each other. They bought papers, read them, and walked away separately, giving each other dirty looks.

17

Just when Mr. His was congratulating himself on outsmarting the people, he heard a noise of approaching footsteps. "Wuxtry!" he shouted. But the noise was growing louder and louder and Mr. His could hardly hear himself. "Wuxtry!" he shouted, but an ocean of voices drowned him out completely. He looked up the block and saw them coming. There was no end to them, and now Mr. His could make out what they were saying: "We're tired of being stepped on! Now we're stepping forward!"





18

"Speaking of steps," thought Mr. His to himself, "I better step on it." He took to his feet and ran as fast as he could, the great crowd right behind him. Mr. His didn't stop running till he was out of Histown.

19

And now if Mr. His ever comes back, he'll find a new Histown. The fields of wheat and corn, the fruit trees, the great mines—everything belongs to the people. And O, yes—it's now Ourtown.

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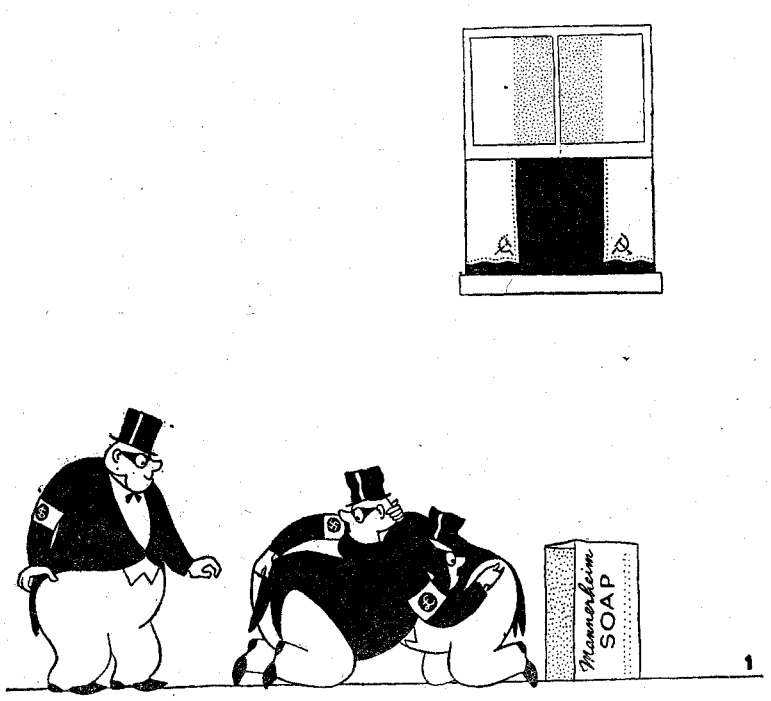

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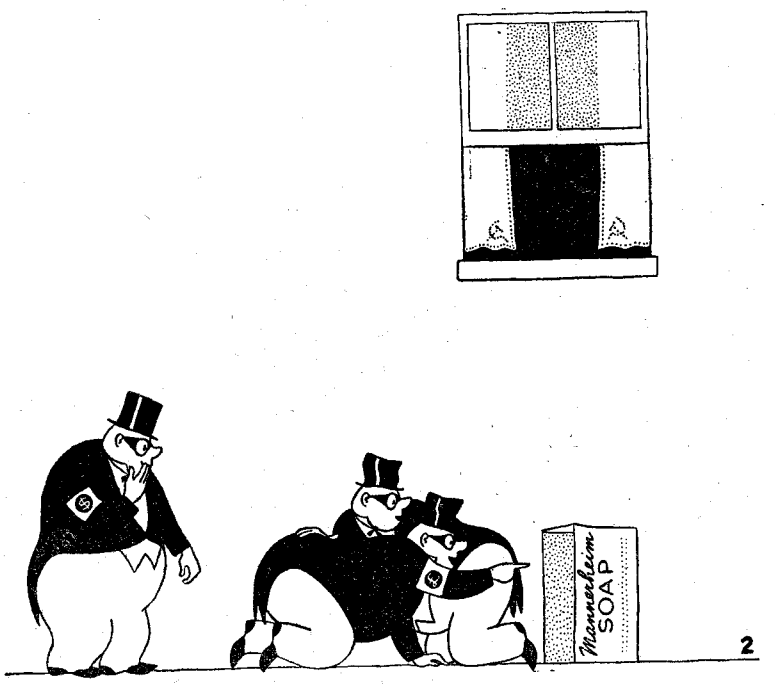

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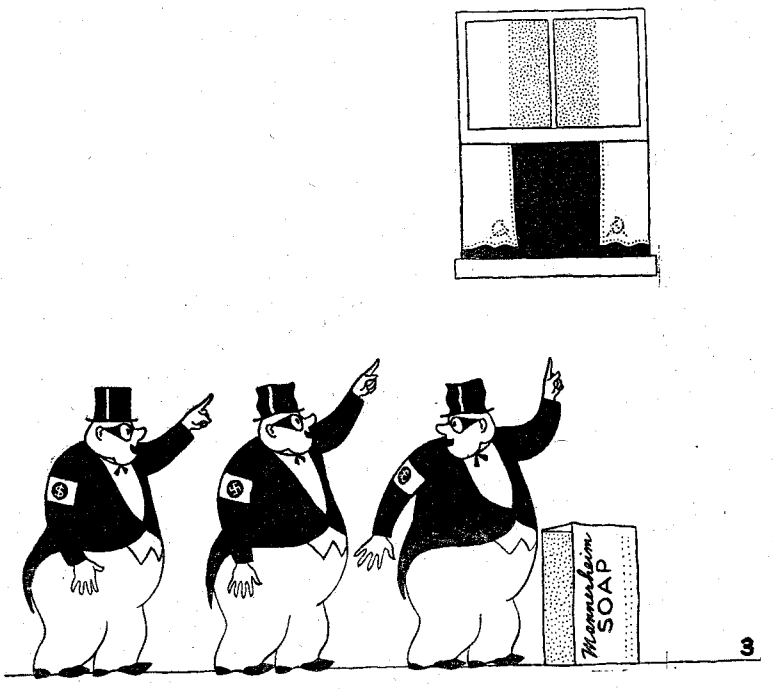

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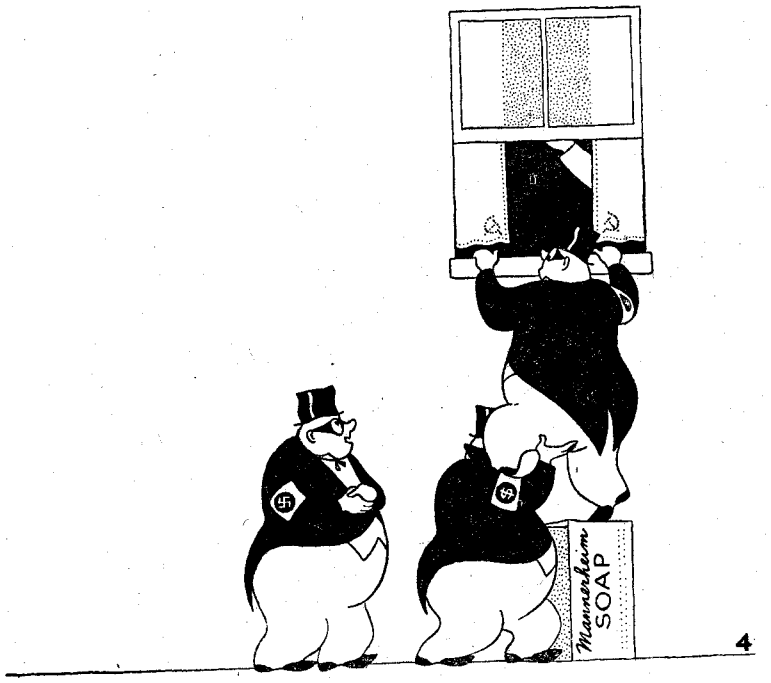

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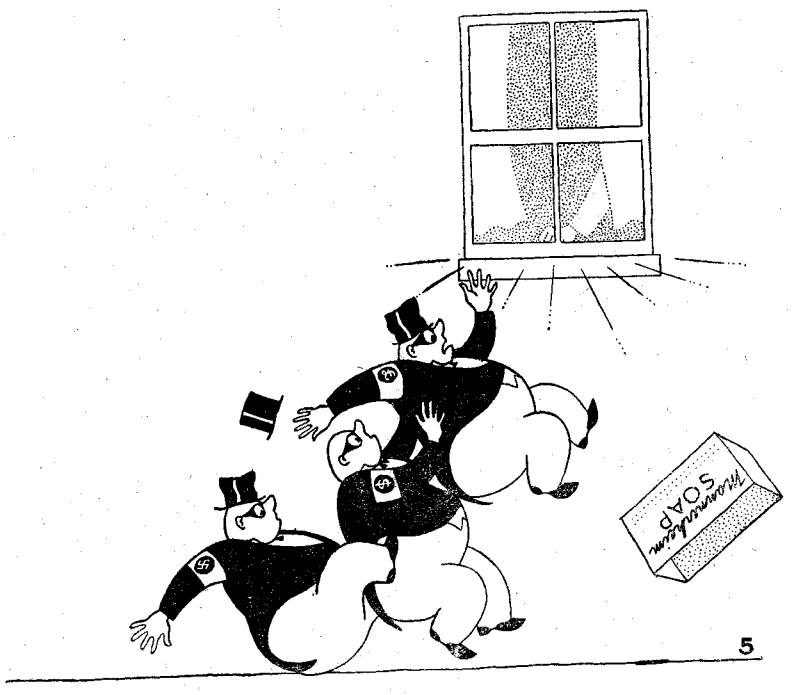

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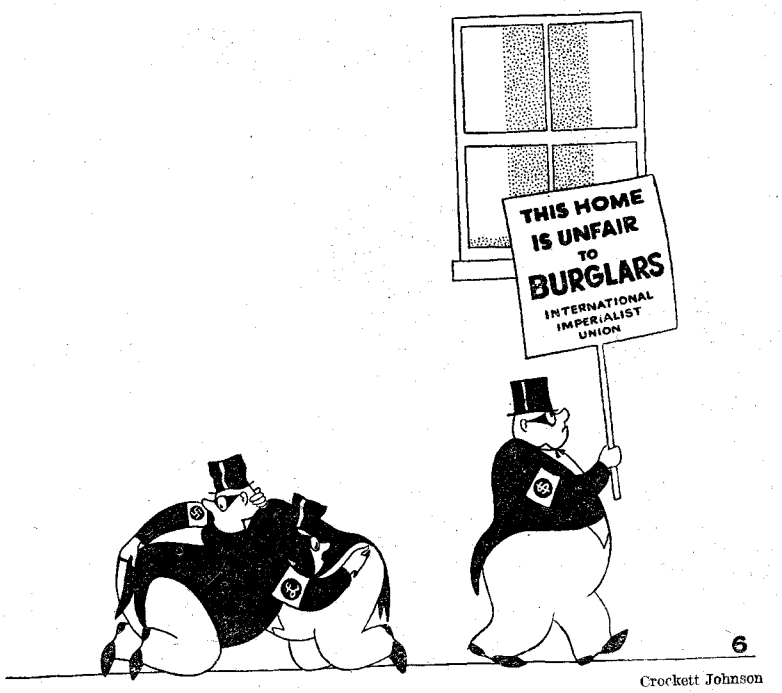

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Crockett Johnson

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NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

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★

American Alarum

A CERTAIN note of hysteria creeps into the American anti-Soviet campaign. The Red Cross donates $250,000 for Finnish relief; forty airplanes are sold to Finland with U. S. Army approval; the first part of the $10,000,000 government credit is used, for some mysterious reason, to purchase gas masks in the United States. Spanish mothers will be glad to note that Countess Thus-and-Such is giving dinners at $250 a plate for Finland's succor. Mr. Herbert Hoover has gone to work in earnest: the church, the press, the public square, even Santa Claus are regimented to gather in the coin for Finland. Bonwit Teller, Bergdorf Goodman, Saks-Fifth Avenue found a new angle in their Christmas advertising by a full-page appeal in the New York *Times* for Finnish aid. Bernard Baruch donated $5000. But no thousands cheer.

None of this appears to have impressed the gloomy Walter Lippmann. This agent of international capitalism disbelieves the news columns of the very newspaper for which he writes. This week he proposed an immediate American credit of $50,000,000 exclusively for military supplies. He urged great haste. He advised Republican leaders to confer with the administration immediately. To evade the strictures of the Neutrality Act he proposed that the credits be made available here; that European nations take care of the shipments. Men must have cause for such desperation. But at the controls of a powerful nation, they are most dangerous.

Sordid Procedure

THE League of Nations session last week epitomized every futility, every irony of our fatal decade. Haile Selassie wasn't there, nor Alvarez del Vayo. Maxim Litvinov, whose great voice for five years breathed life into that sepulchral structure on the hill above Geneva, was also absent. Wellington Koo, the Chinese delegate, whistled at the severity of the League's resolution condemning Soviet operations in Finland. "China never got that," he muttered and his words remain the most expressive comment on the sordid procedure.

Little Finland was represented by Rudolf Holsti: this is the shabbiest irony of them all, whose symbolism could not have escaped the attentive Russians. Finland it was which under the inspiration of both England and Germany, for the whole year of 1938, worked to nullify the significance of the League of Nations. Finland it was which declared it would not abide by Article 16 of the Covenant. Rudolf Holsti: his was the saddest job of all. For it was this man whom the reactionary Finnish government forced out of its Cabinet only a year ago because, as foreign minister, he sought rapprochement with Soviet Russia. For such sins was he demoted to the post of minister at Switzerland by men who plunged their nation into war rather than seek peace and friendship with their most powerful neighbor.

Americans with the slightest sense of historical justice will hardly be impressed by the febrile vitality of the League of Nations. Nor will Americans who disdained to have their country join the League, be pleased to learn that Mr. Donald Edgar, our Swiss representative, sat in the closed Assembly sessions. The whole spectacle is the crudest example of that perversion which is the essence of British policy. As always, British fingers will not be soiled by ugly deeds. Working through third parties such as the redoubtable Argentina, Whitehall achieves its diplomatic ends. In its final gesture, the League regained its miserable stature of the twenties; originally the instrument of Anglo-French policy, the court of minor felonies, the *entente cordiale* against the land of socialism, to this shape it returned in the moment of final anguish. But the mere fact that ten nations abstained from voting is perhaps a hopeful augury. It reflects a healthy respect for the power and position of the Soviet Union in world affairs; it may herald the end of Anglo-French control over small nations, the emergence of a new balance of power. Yet the appeal for international help to Finland, while not involving any formal obligations by the member nations, has its ominous overtone. International intervention in Finland will not materially alter any Soviet decisions. Molotov's note to the League made that clear. But intervention may prolong the operations, bloodlet the Finnish people, irritate a wound along the Soviet border in the hope of spreading a general infection.

Stalin Is Sixty

HE IS the one who once said: "The most valuable capital is people." And: "Only the people is immortal." And now Stalin is sixty. He is not of the world's great in the ordinary sense. He did not climb to greatness on the backs of others. He did not truckle to the best families, and won no medals in deceit and betrayal. His greatness is bound up with the greatness of the people, the immortality of the common man. That is why the brass check press greets the occasion of Stalin's birthday with appropriate libel and lampoon. But 180,000,000 people of diverse

A Christmas Editorial

YES, Virginia, there *is* a Santa Claus. About this time of the year he is coming out of the North with happiness and good cheer for the children of White Russia, the Polish Ukraine, and Finland. He is a cheery fellow, dressed in a long, warm overcoat and a great pointed cap with a big, bright red star on his forehead. In olden time he used to drive a sleigh. Today he and his merry companions are highly mechanized. For twenty years Santa and his 180,000,000 workmen have been building socialism in their tremendous workshop that covers one-sixth of the whole world's surface. This Christmas the good children of the earth are looking forward to a new world in their stockings, for all the good children have been as busy as bees building their working class movements throughout the year.

But there are some wicked men in the world who do not like to see little children happy. They would rather bomb children in Spain or starve them in Cleveland, O., than let them get hold of one of Santa Claus' democratic lollipops. And if they ever saw a kiddie bouncing a socialistic ball—well! They would get into such a temper their faces would get all red and swell up like Herbie Hoover's when he is about to burp.

This Christmas some of the bad men who don't want the little children of the world to have any of Santa's socialistic Yule cheer are trying to stop Santa and his merry men from filling stockings throughout the world. They are hiding behind trees outside of Santa's workers' and peasants' toyland and are trying to shoot him. Imagine! They are trying to shoot him because he wants to make the poor children of the world happy. They are telling great big lies about how Santa's socialistic toys are no good and his workmen don't know how to make even a rag doll.

And to scare away the backward children they are telling them the giant fib that Santa is coming to visit kiddies in order to gobble them up, skin and bones, just like the big bad wolf. That, say the bad men, is why we must shoot him before he gets any further.

But even a Republican knows that you can't shoot Santa Claus.

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nationalities who have put an end to capitalism and its degraded "spiritual" values know him as one of their own, the best that the genius and courage of the working class has produced.

Trotsky will tell you that Stalin is a political illiterate—Trotsky who has sunk to the political level of gutter journalism. Read Stalin's works, saturated with Marxist-Leninist scholarship, replete with literary allusion, full of the simple wisdom and practical common sense that spring from the closest identification with the people and their needs. All the little rats and renegades squeal that Stalin was an obscure nobody who wormed his way into power. But in August 1917, when Lenin was in hiding from Kerensky's police, Stalin's colleagues in the Russian Communist Party thought enough of this "nobody" to choose him to take Lenin's place in delivering the main report at the Eighth Congress of the party. And in November 1917 it was Stalin—not Trotsky—who was made a member of the committee of five that served as the organizing and directing center of the revolution. The press and radio shout that Stalin is a "dictator" and "despot." Read Anna Louise Strong's article in the December issue of *Soviet Russia Today* and learn that this "dictator" and "despot" is the most *democratic* leader in the world. In these critical days, when efforts are being made to stampede the American people into a holy crusade against the Soviet Union, it is well to keep our heads and learn the facts. Our country, whose own revolutionary leaders were once vilified by reactionaries throughout the world, should be the last to participate in a scurrilous campaign against the leader of another land where freedom has struck new and deeper roots.

Bombing Lie

SNOW fell on the first weekend of the war in Finland. Since then, as the much-obscured Moscow military communiques reveal, Soviet planes have been kept pretty much to the ground. Thus, it seems to us important to reexamine whether or not Soviet airforces ever did "deliberately and wantonly" bombard civilian populations in Finland. On December 1, Molotov declared that President Roosevelt's solicitude on this matter was "pointless"; next day *Pravda* emphasized that Soviet aviators were specifically instructed to bomb only military objectives. NEW MASSES for December 12 revealed that our own minister, Arthur Schoenfeld, reported to the State Department that fortresses were being bombed; the New York *Times* deleted this story from its late edition.

Nevertheless, for many people this is still the emotional basis of the "tempest Finlandia." On this ground presumably, the United States declared its moral embargo upon arms and airplane shipments to the USSR, adding this week the embargo upon molybdenum and aluminum. Press and pulpit make this the basis of anti-Soviet alarums. Even though suspicion mounts among common folk that Finland is being exploited for ulterior motives, the initial impression may not be wholly eradicated.

No one, so far as we know, denies that in the first three days of the war bombardments took place. The important question is: were the bombings "deliberate and wanton" efforts to destroy civilians, or did they take place as part of the legitimate pursuit of military objectives in which civilian casualties were wholly incidental?

Facts tell the story, even if the press obscures them. For example, tucked away on page 4 of the New York *Times* for December 4, appeared the casualty figures of the Finnish Defense Ministry at Helsinki, which so far have not been amplified or refuted. Eighty-five people were killed and 182 wounded in the first three days of December, in widely separated areas such as Helsinki, Hangoe, Viborg, Lahti, and Petsamo. Think these figures over. Reasonable people know that in military operations over fortified towns, it would be impossible for any aviation, even if superior to the Russian, to score direct hits every time. For us, the facts emphasize: *no deliberate bombardments ever took place over Finnish soil.* Must we wait twenty years before truth catches up with the lie?

The Grandeur That Is Rome

ITALIAN foreign policy reveals itself more and more as the great juggling act of the century. The Appian Way is apparently paved with eggshells; the fascist salute occupies Mussolini's right hand while his left tries to keep any number of policies in the air at one time. Meanwhile, Italian shipping cleans up promiscuous profits in a flourishing Mediterranean trade; London must come across with at least the £90,000,000 which Turkey received before Il Duce will play ball. Rumors continue that Rome is negotiating for a general European peace on an anti-Soviet basis, but Count Ciano's speech last week minimized any immediate Balkan bloc and took a very cautious attitude toward the Soviet Union. Italy and Germany were both revealed as unprepared for a long war; yet it will be recalled that for years the Munichmen buffaloed world opinion with the bugaboo of fascist military prowess. Humor also had its moment in Ciano's reference to Italy's "authentic victory at Guadalajara." Even in Franco's Spain where tears muffle laughter, this crack will echo.

Most illuminating was Ciano's declaration that at least by August 11, Germany had decided upon military action against Poland. This confirms our suspicion that the present war was determined upon long before it began. A more important observation escapes our Anglophile press completely: if the Nazis had decided upon war earlier than August 11, then the pact with the Soviet Union (August 23) *could not have been the signal* for a *Blitzkrieg* upon Poland! If Ciano is right, then the entire thesis of a Soviet-German *prearrangement* at the expense of Poland is a contemptible canard.

CIO Program

THE CIO has put its best foot forward in its legislative platform, proposed for the next session of Congress. This is a program in the spirit of what the New Deal formerly stood for; it will be interesting to see how New Deal circles react to it.

The CIO makes a pointed criticism of the administration when it deplores the fact that "the time and energy of our own government representatives during the past few months have been devoted almost exclusively to international affairs at the expense of the interests and needs of the American people at home." It goes on to say:

> The United States must not become involved in foreign wars. . . . It has become clear that if the United States permits itself to become engaged in the wars of Europe and Asia there will be a complete blackout of all democratic institutions. . . . Congress must not permit any policy to be adopted which may in any way lead toward the involvement of the United States in the foreign wars, for peace must be preserved for the people of the United States.

Declaring that unemployment is still America's No. 1 problem, the CIO calls for the expansion of the WPA program to provide a minimum of three million jobs, a substantial increase of funds for the National Youth Administration, and the appointment of a committee representing government, industry, labor, and agriculture to work out long range solutions of the problem.

The legislative program urges the rejection of all emasculating amendments to the National Labor Relations Act. It proposes, on the contrary, that the act be strengthened by providing criminal penalties for violators, banning government contracts to firms that violate the law, and forbidding the National Labor Relations Board to carve craft units out of industrial units. The CIO also calls for expansion, simplification, and liberalization of the Social Security Act, establishment of a comprehensive national health program, enlargement of the federal housing plans, and a program designed to shift the burden of taxation from the poor to the rich.

In these legislative recommendations, the CIO testifies to its maturity and capacity for leadership. Here are proposals that constitute more than a platform for labor. They deserve the support of farmers, small business men, and professional people.

F.D.R. Should Know

THE children of Cleveland's unemployed won't starve quickly after all. A little relief has come, to make starving a more gradual process. Now President Roosevelt says it's subversive for the unemployed to strike. He used to say it's subversive to let people starve. Not only are strikes by the unemployed taboo, says the President, but they won't be allowed to create a commotion or disturb the peace. There are some people whose peace is always disturbed by folks ask-

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In Defense of the Bill of Rights

ON THE week of the anniversary of the Bill of Rights this year, America witnesses the greatest drive on the Bill of Rights since the Palmer raids of twenty years ago. With Hearst and Dies leading the vanguard agitating for the suppression of Communist, left-wing, labor, and consumer organizations at home and Herbert Hoover beating the drum for anti-Soviet warfare across the seas, it is inspiriting to read the following manifesto of prominent American liberals issued to the people of the United States on December 14:

We, the undersigned, believe that civil liberties are the distinguishing mark of American democracy. We believe, furthermore, that the Bill of Rights must apply to the rights of all Americans—or that it will prove a cheat for all. We do not accept the dangerous proposition, now being broadcast from certain quarters, that civil rights can be withheld from this dissident minority or that, at the pleasure of those who may have the power to do so.

Therefore, we feel compelled to speak out sharply and boldly at this moment. When forces exist, as we believe they do now exist, whose objective effect—if not their secret purpose—is the destruction of civil liberties, blindness to facts becomes dangerous, pious protestations of liberalism become mockery, and failure to speak out courageously becomes criminal. The objective effect, furthermore, is to create war hysteria and to incite witch hunts at a time when unity for peace in the face of international events is a condition for our further progress as a nation of free men.

We recognize the following blunt facts: (1) that the Dies committee is talking openly of the suppression of dissident groups, and that in this it has secured the support of influential newspapers throughout the country; (2) that open incitement to vigilante activity against labor, against minority radical groups, against national and religious groups is increasing in this country; (3) that various discriminatory and repressive measures against the foreign born have been passed by the House of Representatives and have become law in many states.

We recognize particularly that serious efforts are being made to silence and suppress the Communist Party. We regard as significant the fact that precisely now Earl Browder, its general secretary, has been indicted on data which the government has evidently had for years. We observe that a charge four years old has just now been revived against another official of the Communist Party, Sam Adams Darcy. Similarly, a minor technicality was invoked in order to rule all Communist candidates off the New York City ballot. Without legal right, Representative Dies and his aides have conducted raids on Communist Party headquarters in several cities. Detroit police failed to give adequate protection to a legally held meeting addressed by William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, and an organized gang was allowed to assault people as they left the hall. Harvard University canceled a speaking engagement previously arranged for Mr. Browder.

We record as well that a speech which Mr. Browder recently delivered in Boston was inaccurately reported in many newspapers throughout the country and the false impression was thereby created that he had in effect called for armed insurrection against the government of the United States.

We point out sharply that this concerted campaign to lay the basis for outright suppression of the Communist Party is reminiscent of the post-war hysteria which culminated in the now universally condemned Palmer raids. We are not Communists, and we are not concerned at this moment with the merits or demerits of the doctrines advocated by the Communists. We are interested only in the indisputable merits of our American tradition of free speech and in the consequences to the non-Communist majority of the suppression of the Communist minority. We have before us the example of many European countries where suppression of the Communist Party was but a beginning, followed by a campaign against trade unions, cultural groups, Jews, Catholics, Masons, and ending with the destruction of all freedom. It is in our own interest, therefore, and in the interest of those rights for which America has struggled these many years that we raise our voices in solemn warning against denying to the Communists, or to any other minority group, the full freedom guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

The following sixty-two prominent Americans endorsed the statement:

EDUCATORS AND SCIENTISTS: Prof. Thomas Addis of Stanford University; Prof. Gordon W. Allport of Harvard University; Prof. Joseph Warren Beach of the University of Minnesota; Prof. Franz Boas of Columbia University; Prof. Hadley Cantril of Princeton University; Dr. J. McKeen Cattell of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; Dr. Bella Visano Dodd, teacher and leading trade unionist; Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale University; Prof. Richard Foster Flint of Yale University; Prof. Frank H. Hankins of Smith College; Prof. Benjamin Harrow of the College of the City of New York; Prof. Melville J. Herskowits of Northwestern University; Prof. Ellsworth Huntington of Yale University; Prof. Robert S. Lynd of Columbia University; Prof. Kirtley F. Mather of Harvard University; Dr. Karl Menninger, director of the Psychology Clinic of Topeka, Kan.; Prof. Clyde R. Miller of Columbia University; Prof. Wesley C. Mitchell, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; Prof. O. H. Mowrer of Yale University; Prof. Gardner Murphy of Columbia University; Prof. John P. Peters of Yale University; Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch of Columbia University; Dr. Randolph B. Smith, executive secretary of the Cooperative School for Teachers; Prof. Robert K. Speer of New York University; Prof. Hans Otto Storm of Stanford University; Prof. C. Fayette Taylor of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Prof. Harold C. Urey of Columbia University; Prof. J. Raymond Walsh of Hobart College; and Prof. Louis Weisnir of Hunter College.

WRITERS: John D. Barry, San Francisco columnist; Van Wyck Brooks, author and critic; Malcolm Cowley, editor of the *New Republic;* Countee Cullen, young Negro poet; Martha Dodd, journalist; William E. Dodd, Jr., journalist; Theodore Dreiser, novelist; Sara Bard Field, poet; Dashiell Hammett, novelist; Lillian Hellman, playwright; Matthew Josephson, author and critic; Arthur Kober, author; Oliver LaFarge, author; John Murray, playwright; Clifford Odets, playwright; Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Roeder, authors; George Seldes, journalist; George Soule, editor of the *New Republic;* Irving Stone, biographer; Charles Erskine Scott Wood, author and poet.

ARTISTS AND PUBLIC FIGURES: Frieda Altman, actress; Charles Belous, lawyer and former member of the New York City Council; Aaron Copland, composer; William E. Dodd, former ambassador to Germany; the Rev. William Lloyd Imes, leading Negro clergyman; Rockwell Kent, painter; Philip Loeb, actor; Arthur Pollack, theatrical producer; the Rev. Herman F. Reissig of New York City; Herman Shumlin, theatrical producer; Sanford Solender of New York City; Helen Tamiris, dancer; and Dr. Max Yergan, prominent Negro educator and secretary of the Committee for Afro-American Relations.

ing for higher wages or more relief or the right to organize. The President's statement covers a lot of ground. It ought to win a third term for Garner.

The President has been blaming Governor Bricker, Republican, and Governor Bricker has been blaming the President for the Ohio relief crisis. Both are probably right. But David Lasser, president of the Workers Alliance, proposes to do something about it. He saw Roosevelt the other day and left with him a four-point program calling for immediate expansion of WPA to provide not less than three million jobs; rescinding of all WPA wage cuts; purchase by the federal government of $50,000,000 surplus clothing for the unemployed; and extension of the food stamp plan to assist not only the jobless but merchants and farmers as well. The Ohio CIO is also organizing a fight against the relief crisis. And District 4 (Brooklyn), United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (CIO), has sent a letter to President Roosevelt suggesting that less money be spent for war preparations and more for WPA, PWA, and similar agencies. Perhaps this too is disturbing the peace. But if the President thinks the unemployed will starve meekly, someone ought to tell him that he's wrong.

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Rivaling Dies

MARTIN DIES has a rival. His name is Howard W. Smith and he's a representative from Virginia. He smokes just as big cigars as Martin used to before his doctors advised him to cut out tobacco and try chewing gum. But instead of looking like a Texas cow-puncher, the Honorable Smith has modeled himself after a gentleman of the Old South, wing collar and all; some may perceive in his getup faint intimations of actor, strictly ham. But the real affinity between Dies and Smith is their political outlook. The Smith committee appointed to investigate the National Labor Relations Board got under way last week in true Dies style. Its witnesses were confined largely to enemies of the board and of the Labor Relations Act who smeared to their heart's content without any effort being made to check up on their charges. The Smith committee is cleverer than the Dies outfit: more *savoir faire,* but just as little respect for the Bill of Rights and the rights of labor.

It was an astute move to call as the first witness William Leiserson. The Labor Board's newest member, he is well known as its Fifth Columnist. Leiserson's job is to insinuate into board procedure and interpretations the ideas of the National Association of Manufacturers and reactionary AFL leaders. His testimony helped create a picture of internal dissension and incompetence which was properly headlined in the commercial press. Two particularly foul balls from the AFL hierarchy—John P. Frey, head of the Metal Trades Department, and Joe Ozanic, president of a dual union, the Progressive Miners of America—were freely allowed to slander the CIO. Frey also spoke up for a favorite big business proposal: legislation to prevent unions from making contributions to political parties.

Meanwhile there opened in San Francisco, sans fanfare and headlines, the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee's long-awaited investigation of the Associated Farmers. Testimony, as reported in the *Daily Worker,* showed that the British landowning and export firm of Balfour-Guthrie had made heavy financial contributions to the Associated Farmers. This fascist big business group had also received the active assistance of the sheriff of Sutter County and the heads of the local National Guard and state highway patrol. A diligent search failed to find a single line on the La Follette hearings in the New York *Times* which a few days earlier had published an eloquent editorial on the Bill of Rights.

Heywood Broun

HEYWOOD BROUN died at fifty-one, after one of the greatest careers in American journalism. Although it was a contradiction to his environment, Broun's political and trade union activity endeared him to hundreds of thousands of American progressives. The revolutionary working class enjoyed marching with Heywood Broun as far as he was going, and when he fell out a few months ago, a long sigh went along the line of march. He did not find peace in the makeshift world he inherited after that, and he died anti-climactically. Broun was never a Communist, although he once stood for Congress as a Socialist, and lived to be called a Communist by Martin Dies. His tradition was the old American one of clipping the man who sits on the underdog. When the underdog begins to rise, his sympathizers become confused, because he is no longer the underdog.

Professionally Broun's place is secure; the columnar tradition that he nourished is now in the dirty hands of Pegler and small bileful men who make Heywood Broun shine even brighter. The American Newspaper Guild is his monument: in the picketline before the Hearst papers in Chicago, where the Guild strike is a year old this week, Heywood Broun's fighting nature carries on. He will be remembered.

Remember Madrid!

KNIFING the Spanish republic didn't satisfy Chamberlain and Daladier. Now they are sending back to Franco's prisons and firing squads the finest of the men who put up one of the noblest fights of all times for democracy. Senor Uribe, minister of agriculture in the Spanish republic, now here, declared last week that "great numbers of the refugees are being forced by the Daladier government to return to Spain." They are added "to the one million political prisoners" in the Caudillo's jails.

More shameful than that is the British government's action in shipping back to the Basque land the Spanish children who had been sent to England for safety. The New York *Times* unctuously reports that "Two hundred children left wartime Britain for their native Spain once more at peace." Yes, a peace of the graveyard—and the Falangist gunmen have not finished their duties. All Americans should get behind the work of the Greater New York Committee of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign. They are out to raise a quota of $10,000 to transport a thousand of the refugees from France to friendly countries on an American "rescue ship." The tag days are December 21, 22, 23. Remember the heroes of Spain by remembering those days.

Battleship Suicide

MOST dramatic story of the week (or the war): *Admiral Graf Spee.* All the makings: her fourteen-hour running fight against three British cruisers; the heavy damage she inflicted upon the *Exeter* before being harried, herself wounded, into Montevideo harbor; her thirty-six dead and sixty injured and the British seventy-two dead and thirty-one injured; the captains and sailors of six British ships captured earlier by *Graf Spee* fired upon by their own countrymen; the diplomatic struggle between the German and British ministers to Uruguay, the one trying to get the *Spee* out into the line of fire at once, the other seeking time for repairs and a get-away.

Uruguay and the other American republics were sore at the fighters for squaring off not only within the three-hundred-mile "neutral ring" drawn around the Americas by the Pan-American Conference, but even within the conventional three-mile limit. The self-scuttling of the *Graf Spee* means the Germans have only two of the deadly pocket battleships left.

If positions had been reversed, and a British ship had taken refuge in Montevideo harbor, we wonder what Uruguay and the American State Department would have said and done?

Roundup

MONDAY and Tuesday are meatless days in France. Paul Reynaud's new budget provides for further restrictions of domestic consumption. . . . From France also comes the information that 10,500 German-Jewish, Austrian, and Czech refugees are in concentration camps. . . . The *Black Diamond Condor,* American freighter, arrived in New York last week reporting that British authorities at Weymouth had seized 162 sacks of American mail. Did not make the headlines. . . . Father Coughlin's Radio League of the Little Flower contributed $1,000 to both Polish and Finnish relief funds. . . . A joint manifesto of the German, Austrian, and Czechoslovak Communist parties this week, denouncing both sides in the present war, was issued in Moscow. . . . Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, chairman of the TNEC, which investigated irregularities in investment banking this week, made a subversive speech declaring that the "number of propertyless was increasing in the United States." . . . Japanese freighters are loading heavy cargoes of death in American ports in anticipation of expiration of 1911 trade treaty January 26. . . . Soviet-Japanese trade talks will continue on January 10; meanwhile American Ambassador Grew discussed Japanese-American relations with Foreign Minister Nomura. Senator Vandenberg of Michigan was quoted in the Japanese *Asahi* as saying: "If Japan would conclude a non-aggression treaty with Soviet Russia, I believe an embargo against her would be put into effect immediately." . . . Ten more American ships were detained by the French and British; still no headlines. . . . Is the Neutrality Act being violated? . . . Britain has lost 2,100 officers and men in army, navy, and air forces since war began, but 2,975 people have been killed in traffic accidents due to the British blackout. . . . Atlanta, Ga., was recaptured for the Confederacy last week at *Gone with the Wind* opening. . . . George Strickland, president of the Georgia Trust Co., said: "I've been sitting in there crying, and by God, I'm not ashamed to say so." . . . Fifty thousand people were admitted to the USSR in the past twenty days upon the decision of the Soviet commission in Lithuania. They were reported "delighted."

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Byzantium, Rome, Avignon and Points West

George Seldes' "The Catholic Crisis" tells all about an important church group in the United States. What it does and who runs it.

THE CATHOLIC CRISIS, *by George Seldes. Julian Messner, Inc. $3.*

IN HIS survey of *The Catholic Crisis,* George Seldes has written a good, rounded book. He has also written a brave book. For it was published on November 13, but no major newspaper or magazine (except the New York *Times* Books, December 17) has had the courage to review it. The reason why may be found on page 184 et seq. of Mr. Seldes' book under the chapter heading "Catholic Pressure on the Press." Seldom does a book have some of its main theses proved in so direct and commercial a way. If *The Catholic Crisis* had been widely reviewed, attacked, laughed off, disproved, or caviled at, then Mr. Seldes might be considered a wolf crier. The scared, ominous silence proves his point.

It is unfortunate that devout and good-willed Catholics probably will not read this book in great numbers, for the mistakes of those who distort Christian principles are wrecking the bark in which millions have placed their simple trust. Corrupt stewards of a spiritual heritage drive their followers away more quickly than do the attractions of other philosophies. Catholic reaction in America is fighting today against the spiritual and worldly needs of the American Catholic people.

In this, its last phase of dominance in world affairs, the Roman Catholic Church finds itself with the United States as the most powerful Catholic country in the world, politically and financially. The Papacy must now rely on a mass base of one-sixth of our population and faithful sons strategically placed in influential departments of the state for approximately 90 percent of its international income and its political salvation from the collapse of capitalist Europe.

Yet, in these United States, the greatest capitalist nation in the world, how fares the Church of Rome among its people? Perhaps the following figures, printed on the front page of the *New World,* archdiocesan organ of Chicago, on May 12, 1939, will show:

> The *New World* for April 28 reported the Catholic population for the United States, Alaska, and the Hawaiian Islands as 21,406,507. These were the figures contained in the *Official Catholic Directory for 1939* just issued by P. J. Kenedy & Sons. The figure was a gain of 239,827 over the report of the previous year.
>
> The Archdiocese of Chicago in 1938 had 1,159,390 Catholics within its limits. In 1939 it showed a Catholic population of 1,400,000. Its net gain was 240,610, or a little more than the entire gain in population for the church throughout the country. In other words the gain enjoyed by the Catholic Church in additional members in the United States took place in the Archdiocese of Chicago.
>
> This claim is further substantiated by referring to the comparative figures for the other large archdioceses and the Diocese of Brooklyn, only diocese in the million class. Brooklyn showed a gain of about 15,262. The Archdiocese of Boston showed a loss for the year. New York's total was given as the same as that of the year previous. This seems to be at variance with the facts because New York lost territory and it hardly seems possible that it could lose this territory and yet retain the same number of Catholics in the present limits. The Archdiocese of Philadelphia lost. The Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Hartford, Conn., showed small gains. The others showed losses, due mostly to losing territory to newly formed dioceses. These losses were offset for the most part by the gains in the new dioceses absorbing this territory. Chicago, however, neither gained nor lost any territory during the year. Its gain in new members marked the entire gain enjoyed by the church in our country. That the total gain for the country at large fell below the gain in Chicago is due to the fact that losses were sustained elsewhere, cutting down on the gain in our section.

The main part of Seldes' fine book deals with the role of high Catholic churchmen and church authority in relation to fascism and democracy, Catholic progress and reaction, as it manifests itself in the United States. He adds incident upon incident, documented and placed in fair perspective on each side of the scale. When his book is finished, he does not even draw the inference which his cases show, so careful has he been to avoid a prejudicial frame of mind. But with such a sum of figures, the reader can easily supply the total.

Such a sum of reactionary behavior on the part of the hierarchy is listed on page 48. Concerning church-inspired or tolerated acts in this non-sectarian country, the list is impressive. Reactionary Catholic exploiters of their fellow-religionists have:

1. Intimidated and terrorized the entire United States press on the Spanish issue.
2. Denied the constitutional right of free speech to other minorities.
3. Nullified the wishes of the American majority through pressure on Congress on the Spanish and other problems.
4. Censored the movies of the nation from the Catholic viewpoint.
5. Suppressed books and other publications, some for moral reasons, others for sectarian reasons.
6. Boycotted, threatened boycotts, or ruined the business of certain persons favoring loyalist Spain.
7. Forced their minority view on child labor legislation through New York and other legislatures.
8. Intimidated the owners of various radio stations on moral and controversial and political subjects.
9. Threatened violence to liberals and radicals in certain cities.
10. Built up fascist political machines and gangs, as in Jersey City.
11. Defeated, or helped to defeat, numerous city, state, and national measures of a reformist or liberal tendency; helped maintain or inaugurated legislation of an anti-liberal, anti-labor, anti-progressive, or reactionary nature at various times.
12. Permitted spokesmen to spread anti-Semitism, hatred, prejudice, and a part of its press to do likewise.
13. Interfered with the purchase of books in public libraries, attempting to eliminate liberal books; also intimidated bookshops selling books Catholics think immoral.
14. Made "determined and incessant efforts to embroil the United States with Mexico" . . . contributions "to attempted counter-revolutions."
15. Instigated raids on birth control lectures, clinics, bookshops.
16. Made decent changes in our marriage and divorce laws impossible.
17. Indulged in unadulterated Red-baiting side by side and often in cooperation with America's No. 1 fascist, W. R. Hearst.
18. Generally allied themselves with non-Catholic reactionary pressure groups which have menaced the civil liberties of the majority.

The question of Father Coughlin, keynoter for all fascist and anti-Semitic forces in the Land of the Free, is considered at length by Mr. Seldes. He does not, however, go into church politics very deeply. Nor could he take advantage of the Spivak revelations in NEW MASSES which show Coughlin to be an apt follower of Don Cristobal in William Blake's *The World Is Mine.* The legalized begging allowed to religious organizations here has been well used by Coughlin to line his own pockets and indulge in political sidelines. The servile indebtedness of the Catholic Church in this country to finance capital irks nearly every parish priest and we know how easily such economic pressure can be rationalized classically into anti-Semitism. Even a Vatican trouble-shooter like Archbishop Mooney, Coughlin's superior, treads warily when more than half of the Catholic clergy of America have taken the easiest way of explaining their economic bondage. In Europe they have been taking it for years, from Poland to Spain. Feudalists never seem to recall that Jewish banking suffered an eclipse with the rise of Protestant banking at the Reformation. Or if they recall it, they are afraid to say it out loud.

Few of the millions who attend the American movies, whether in Sapulpa, Okla., New York City, or Bangkok, Siam, know that each foot of reel is an approved expression of Roman Catholic policy and thought. This was done, as Mr. Seldes shows and the Hays office

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admits, by the simple medium of putting pressure on movie houses in cities through Catholic pulpits until the motion picture industry accepted the Production Code written by Father Daniel A. Lord, S.J., and administered by Joseph Breen for the Catholic Legion of Decency. Remember that, the next time you gaze upon Marlene Dietrich's thighs. It will help you to stop worrying about the lack of progressive ideas in so many pictures.

There is a good section on the activities of those reactionary Catholic politicians in America who have made their names unfortunately synonymous with graft and corruption. The featuring, in recent days, of German-named churchmen to divert attention from the unpleasant connotations of Irish-sounding names is a minor indication of the church's awareness. In cities with a large non-Catholic and Jewish vote, endorsement by pro-Coughlin clergy is a distinct handicap. It wasn't so in the old days.

A good bit of Mr. Seldes' book is taken up with the various manifestations of Catholic policy as shown in the events arising out of the war in Spain, both here and abroad. This streamlined *auto da fe* exhibited the churchmen in full war regalia. It was a test of clerical politics and control just as it was a test of material for the Condor Legion and the Black Arrows. Space forbids a review of the author's copious observations here: you must read them in the book itself.

The last division of *The Catholic Crisis* deals with "The Vatican and the World," an enormous subject. When it is remembered that the policy of the British Foreign Office has been Catholic for a century (Van Sittart, Cranborne, etc.); that the Catholic masses of Europe remain east of the Siegfried Line; that Nazis, Fascisti, and Falangista are openly anti-Catholic; that the American ambassador to the Court of St. James is a political Catholic (not to mention the attorney general and the postmaster general who is also our President's political manager); that neither the Scandinavian countries (there are only eight Roman Catholic priests and one bishop in Finland) nor the Balkans are particularly Catholic in religion—when a host of other contradictory and peril-laden situations are balanced dialectically, then the full weight of George Seldes' title can be felt.

With the rush of events whirling even politically astute Communists along at a breathless pace, one can read in the communications department of the *Commonweal,* a Catholic review of decidedly anti-Red views, the following from a letter signed by "A White Russian Catholic Priest":

> . . . The truth is that there are actually about two million Catholics of the Latin rite living in this territory (White Russia), and that, too, not Polish but White Russian Catholics. The only Polish living here were the big landowners, the clergy, the teaching personnel, countless officials, the Polish legionaries and soldiers endowed with White Russian lands by Pilsudski's government in reward for their services *pro patria,* the heavy police forces, the unmerciful tax-collectors, especially of the arrears of taxes. . . .

In consideration of such unfortunate historical facts in White Russia one is inclined to believe, even despite himself, that the Catholic Church in that unhappy country will probably fare much better under the Soviet regime than it did under the Polish regime; in other words, that in the sea of sufferings and persecutions it will be purified and regenerated, and will cease to be in the hands of the unscrupulous a political football for the good and advantage of the aliens and the detriment and exploitation of the natives. Then only will the White Russian Catholics be able to extend a friendly hand to their Orthodox brethren and lead them to the unity of Christ's Church.

Much has been written and said, pro and con, in recent days about building socialism in White Russia, the former Polish Ukraine, and Finland in the wake of the victorious Red Army. Leave it to a zealous priest to figure an angle by which the Church of Rome may hope advantageously to flourish, thanks to the liberating march of the Revolutionary Army of Workers and Peasants. He is wasting his time writing letters to the *Commonweal.* The Catholic Church needs a man like him in the Vatican—right away.

JOHN STARK.

Facts about the War

HANDBOOK OF THE WAR, *by John C. De Wilde, David H. Popper, Eunice Clark. Houghton Mifflin Co. $2.*

IT IS a rare handbook that gives you enough for your money. Most frequently cribbed from the more significant work of others, handbooks usually betray themselves by wanton intentions to the fickle market. True of all such ventures, that would be doubly true of compilations of fact and judgment on such a complex phenomenon as the present war in Europe.

The first world war might have been the last, had not several working class revolutions in Europe been crushed in the cradle. A generation of peace in Europe was largely the effort to prevent the reincarnation of revolution, particularly in Germany. The present war continues that effort; the whole capitalist world is drawn into it. The socialist state plays its own hand in the same struggle in which the future of Europe is at stake. The authors of this valuable booklet do not give you this understanding. Like all devotees to the cult of fact, they shy from the illuminating generalization. But their naval, military, and aeronautical information is excellently arranged and lucidly written. Their studies of the economic dimensions in the present war are authoritative. Germany's strength is not underestimated; the authors realize acutely how far toward totalitarianism the Allied powers must go to win victory, how crucial Canadian and American participation in the war has become. They are satisfyingly sober about the Soviet Union; their wholesome respect for its military and economic strength enables them to avoid the snobbish illusions of most radio and newspaper commentators. But the analysis of the home fronts in the war leaves

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almost everything to be desired. This is clearly beyond the authors' talents, training, and outlook.

Excellent charts, good organization and prose, recommend this handbook as a valuable reference, as a provocative source book for further study.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

About Workers

GET ORGANIZED: STORIES AND POEMS ABOUT TRADE UNION PEOPLE, *a literary pamphlet edited by Alan Calmer. International Publishers. 10 cents.*

MOST labor papers limit their contents to the hard vital facts about the worker's economic life. They have to do that because practically nowhere else can a worker find accurate or fair news about the union and the economic and political trends which influence them.

But there's room for something else that needs saying and for the right way of saying it. *Get Organized* is one of the first efforts in this direction. It is a lively sheaf of stories and poems about the job and the union and the men and women who make them. The writers are the familiar experts, Ben Field, Saul Levitt, Sterling Brown, Meridel LeSeuer, James Neugass, Sol Funaroff, and Norman Rosten; and the newcomers, Carl Offord, Sam Ross, and Theodore T. Kaufman. Most of the pieces handle quite simply and directly an emotional problem or a critical moment of experience growing out of participation in the labor movement. They are the kind of stories and poems that make understanding clearer and conviction deeper. Published in this cheap and convenient format, they should be helped to wide circulation in the trade unions and out.

When the labor press finds it possible to publish one piece such as these in every issue it will be a great break for both readers and writers.

MILTON MELTZER.

Javanese Folklore

ILLUSION IN JAVA, *by Gene Fowler. Random House. $2.50.*

UNLIKE the South Sea islands of Tahiti and Bali, which turn up frequently in popular song and story, little in a fictional vein has been written about the island of Java.

In *Illusion in Java* we are offered the results of Gene Fowler's "discovery" of the island and its natives. This is the story of the young peasant Ajoks, a poet-musician with the soul of a great artist, around whose adventures into love, life, and art Fowler weaves a background of the customs, ideas, and folkways of the Javanese people. He writes of a group remote from the cities of the white overlords, living near the side of an active volcano which erupts from time to time and covers the small village with a sea of hot mud. This, they believe, is due to the escape

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of a demon, forced by the gods to dwell within the crater. So great a musician is Ajoks that upon one occasion he halts such an escape by the magic of his music.

The men of the village engage in farming, while the women are the makers of the batik work for which the island is famous. They are a people in whose lives art plays an important part and who possess a highly traditionalized body of dances and poetic shadow dramas. We are told that they live in daily fear of leprosy, against which, as with other evils, their protection is a primitive form of magic.

The story is highly lyrical and makes pleasant reading; it might itself have been an expanded folk myth. However, the manner in which the folk material has been used results in a subtle piece of escapist fiction. It is difficult to believe that almost forty million people living under the colonial rule of the Dutch find their lives as lyrical as does Fowler, even though he has used material that embodies part of their vision of the world.

Folklore, even when most charming, reveals a contradictory, bitter-sweet quality when something is known of the conditions that give it birth. Here is the sweet with the bitter extracted, an "exotic romance," as illusory as the title, though in a different reference, suggests.

RALPH ELLISON.

Jack London

JACK LONDON AND HIS TIMES, *by Joan London. Doubleday, Doran & Co. $3.*

JOAN LONDON'S biography of her father adds little to the story told in Irving Stone's *Sailor on Horseback,* published last year. It is plain that London's dream of a double conquest of capitalism—to beat the capitalists at their own game of money-making and, as a Socialist, to kick them out entirely—was the expression of a conflict in which his socialism eventually gave way before an ambition and insecurity that no amount of success could appease. He finally retreated into "the beautiful things I own" in a growing isolation and pessimism that culminated in his death (probably by his own hand, though this is not certain) at the age of forty. The famous writer had lived just long enough (1916) to express his chauvinism—shockingly evident even before he had left the Socialist Party—in a tirade against Germany and praise for the warmongering Theodore Roosevelt, "who exalts honor and manhood." Out of his working class sympathies have come some writing and speeches with a splendid challenge, marred by an imperfect understanding of socialism.

Miss London's little essays on "the times" which she distributes throughout, not integrating them with her main narrative, do not help the book—and the flavoring of her devotion to Leon Trotsky certainly does not help the essays.

B. G.

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John Bull

THE SECOND WORLD WAR: FIRST PHASE, *by Duff Cooper. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.*

THIS is a collection of articles and speeches since Munich by the former first lord of the British Admiralty, now touring the United States. Written by a man who recently told his audience in the New York *Herald Tribune* (Dec. 11, 1939): "The Russians are a very ignorant people—more ignorant probably under the Soviets than they were under the czars. . . ." J. S.

Brief Notices

JOHN GASSNER has edited a collection of the *Twenty Best Plays of the Modern American Theater* (Crown Publishers, $3). The collection includes Clifford Odets' *Golden Boy,* Lillian Hellman's *The Children's Hour,* Irwin Shaw's *Bury the Dead,* Sidney Kingsley's *Dead End,* Paul Green's *Johnny Johnson,* Maxwell Anderson's *Winterset,* John Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men,* Erskine Caldwell's and Jack Kirkland's *Tobacco Road,* and other distinguished plays of the 1930's. It is prefaced by a survey written by Mr. Gassner of recent American drama. A Christmas gift suggestion for your play-reading friends. . . . The O. Henry Memorial Award *Prize Stories of 1939,* edited by Harry Hansen (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50) does not approach last year's volume, which included Albert Maltz' "The Happiest Man on Earth" and Richard Wright's "Fire and Cloud." The first three prizes go to William Faulkner for "Barn Burning," a selection from his forthcoming novel, to James Still for "Bat Flight," and to David Cornel deJong for "Calves." The volume includes good stories by Millen Brand, Erskine Caldwell, and Irwin Shaw. Mr. Hansen makes two interesting points in his introduction. Noting that many of this year's stories dealt with events abroad, he remarks that "American writers do better when they deal with the economic turmoil, of which they often have firsthand experience." He also makes the significant point that "The channels for free expression of original ideas are today fewer than ever. . . ." *John Black's Body,* by Ben Martin (Vanguard, $1), is a pictorial odyssey of the poor sucker who has to do the fighting in the bankers' war. Forty-eight line drawings and 403 words tell the grimly ironic story of the chap who gets himself bumped off in a trench while the politician cheers, the financier gloats, and the colonel bullies. Reading time: three minutes. The story would be more complete with a couple of pictures suggesting what citizen Black can do about it. . . . *The Theater Handbook and Digest of Plays,* edited by Bernard Sobel (Crown Publishers, $3) is a convenient one-volume encyclopedia of the theater. It includes contributions from Raymond Massey, Tallulah Bankhead, Brock Pemberton, and other theater notables. Thumbnail sketches from *The Acharnians* of Aristophanes to the *Follies* of Ziegfeld.

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S I G H T S A N D S O U N D S

Spirituals to Swing: 2

Carnegie Hall and Christmas Eve bring another concert of American Negro music inaugurated last year by this magazine and now produced by TAC.

SANTA CLAUS paused thoughtfully last Christmas Eve at Carnegie Hall to bring a capacity audience a shining recital of American Negro music. *From Spirituals to Swing* was a well stuffed stocking, and at least one of the gifts—Boogie Woogie piano music—had scarcely been heard before. Now, of course, Albert Ammons, Meade Lewis, and Pete Johnson are illustrious national figures, with a fruitful year of trio improvisation added to the powers they possess individually. This year the Boogie Woogie piano players appear on an exciting new bill with Count Basie, Benny Goodman, and many other artists.

John Hammond is again the director of this annual Christmas Eve forum for the vital music of the blues and jazz tradition and for the newest discoveries among Negro folk artists. Mr. Hammond has been tripping around North Carolina and bypaths for months ferreting out unknown talents with which to surprise the audience. Sterling Brown, the commentator for the program, is probably as much in ignorance of their identity as this writer, but he can be sure they will represent the most valid expression of the tradition.

Count Basie's orchestra and the fractions thereof, the Kansas City Six and Seven, will present orchestral blues and jazz with Benny Goodman as special soloist. The giant blues vocalisms of Big Joe Turner and his Kansas City rival, James Rushing, as well as the languid blues of Big Bill Broonzy, will be matched against three feminine blues artists —Ida Cox, an oldtimer, newly rediscovered; Sister Rosita Tharpe, the Holy Roller singer; and Helen Humes of the Basie band. James P. Johnson, the ancestor of jazz pianists, will play his superb accompaniments for the blues, and Joe Sullivan, practically the last of the white blues pianists, will also serve the singers.

Sanford "Sonny" Terry, the half-blind harmonica blues player from North Carolina, is coming for his second New York appearance. In his darkness and shyness, Sonny Terry offers a personal art of great meaning; to the listener willing to humble himself before the people, Sonny Terry's harmonica, the relentless beat of his foot, and the unashamed falsetto he uses to sing of Louise or poor Lost John are a rewarding glimpse of the folk spirit.

Spiritual singing will be presented by the Golden Gate Jubilee Quartet, artists unknown to this type of concert audience, but beloved by the Negro people for their recordings.

This is only the part of the program that can now be announced; Mr. Hammond's discoveries may prove to be even more sensational, as the unknown artists were last year.

To provide the music lover with a permanent souvenir of *From Spirituals to Swing,* the Music Room, comprehensive new record shop at 133 West 44th St., N. Y. C., has prepared a special album of records on the subject. Twelve records have been chosen by a group of jazz authorities and a critical note by James Dugan is included. Many of the artists in the concert are represented with their best recordings, as well as valuable performances by the great players of the past. On these twenty-four sides there are pieces by Albert Ammons, Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, Bix Biederbecke, Sidney Bechet, Big Bill Broonzy, Mitchell's Christian Singers, Earl Hines, Coleman Hawkins, Benny Goodman, Teddy Wilson, Muggsy Spanier, Meade "Lux" Lewis, Duke Ellington, Pee Wee Russell, Eddie Condon, Gene Krupa, Jelly Roll Morton, and Sister Tharpe. The recordings have been chosen to show as many varieties of Negro music and miscegenate jazz as possible in a dozen records, and also to include the work of outstanding soloists and ensembles. The album with its notes constitutes an intelligent and inexpensive introduction to the music of *From Spirituals to Swing.*

J. S. BIXLER.

HOT PIANO PLAYERS. *Count Basie and Joe Sullivan, who will play on Christmas Eve at Carnegie Hall in "From Spirituals to Swing."*

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Decalcomania

The cartoon movie of "Gulliver's Travels."

GULLIVER has gone Hollywood, or rather that small suburb of Hollywood represented by the Fleischer cartoon studios in Florida. He has found smaller people there than the Lilliputians. The foremost film offerings of the holiday season of 1939, a year end full of dread, are *Gulliver's Travels* and *Gone with the Wind,* or nightmares in decalcomania. Dreams are troubled enough without the cinema palaces giving us worse. What has become of the theory that movies are an escape?

What Swift had in mind was political satire, for he lived in an England as full of mockery as Goya's Spain. Ages of children have loved Gulliver without perceiving Swift's sardonic meaning, but no one thought of Gulliver as Dan Cupid until Max Fleischer came along. The original tale has caught the breath of generations living and dust—the wonder of the Lilliputians at Gulliver's big watch and pistol, the small bonds with which they seek to hold him, and the great national works project for feeding him. Now these matters are a subplot to Gulliver's task of uniting Princess Glory and Prince David, or Jessica Dragonette and Lanny Ross.

The Soviet puppet movie of *Gulliver's Travels* also took liberties with the subject, but for satiric purposes, to reinterpret the genial giant and the little earthlings for a contemporary social satire. This version strips away the implications altogether, and substitutes a puerile Hollywood plot.

I refuse to walk into these galloping comic strips prepared to swoon like Westbrook Pegler encountering *Snow White*. Here is a fertile bypath of the screen, making several more dimensions for the trenchant medium of the cartoon, giving the caricaturist color, sound, and action, and a complicated industrial and distributive process to put over his idea to millions. Imagine the effect of one of these movie cartoons directed at the phony war in Europe.

Max Fleischer has a war in his parable. Gulliver arrives just as Lilliput has gone to war with its neighbor over the crucial issue of whose theme song will be sung at the wedding of the prince and princess. Gulliver solves the dilemma of love and war by merging the theme songs, "Faithful" and "Forever," into "Faithful Forever." Get it? Pardon me, while I go kick a man named Paramount Pictures.

Although the script is hopelessly hackneyed, the rank and file has snuck in some piquant little ideas, like the intrepid Lilliputian alpinists roping themselves together and venturing up the side of Gulliver. The animators and in-between men have done a superb technical job. The animation is almost as clean as Disney's work and the color is uniformly good. But the characters and business ape the poorest traits of Disney—the insipid princess a la Snow White, the moronic prince a la Prince

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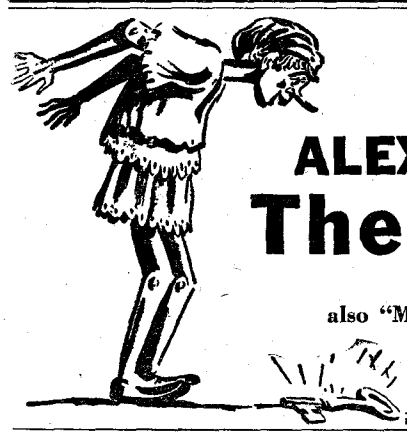
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Charming, the slap, bang, grunt, the overworked trick of making a dazed character vibrate like a clock spring.

Gulliver has been painstakingly copied, frame by frame, from the motion pictures of a living man, and the little prince has been done in the same manner from a ham actor. The Lilliputian king has the vocal mannerisms of Frank Morgan in *The Queen's Husband,* and the population seems to be divided between the Dead End Kids and the Three Stooges.

The possibility of creating original character is endless in the cartoon medium, but none has been attempted here. Even a pair of love birds has been cribbed from Disney. The skill of the Fleischer technicians is evident throughout the picture and I am sure they could do original work if they were free of the slavish ideas of the boss. Experiment and originality have never been priced high in American films, but when the pall of imitation and sure-fire gags overcomes a branch as young as the cartoon it is too bad indeed. The thrill an audience gets from this picture, and many will be thrilled and delighted, is the primitive one of something new, like the wild Indians seeing a locomotive plunging toward them in the suckling days of the movies. The film cartoon is in its infancy. All it can say is, da.

To the producer and director I can only repeat the words of an actor from a rival firm —Grumpy of the Disney lot: "Bah, love!"

JAMES DUGAN.

"The Woman Brown"

A stage play that may do better as a movie.

THE only tangible excuse for the production of this new play by Dorothy Cumming was the published report that Miss Bette Davis, after seeing the summer tryout, asked Warner Bros. to buy it for her, and they did. They bought it, produced it on Broadway, and there it stayed—for just eleven performances.

Miss Davis gives every evidence of being a shrewd and intelligent performer, and it is not difficult to see what she saw in this melodramatic tragedy of a woman falsely accused of murder. With the assistance of six or seven scriptwriters, she may succeed in transforming a routine job into one of her more arresting performances; she will be enabled to suffer and deteriorate as only she knows how, and she will wring the hearts of her audiences.

But the stage play, which was an unrelenting black from curtain to curtain, possessed no more than a serious intention. In its thirteen scenes of unrelieved misery there was not more than a moment of real pathos, for the quality of the performances throughout, from Colin Keith-Johnston and Franciska Gaal down to the last court attendant at the Old Bailey who shouts, "Oyez! oyez!" was also unrelenting—in its mediocrity.

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GOINGS ON

REV. WILLIAM LLOYD IMES, pastor of the St. James Presbyterian Church, will speak on THE NEGRO AND THE CHURCH at the Workers School, 35 East 12 Street, New York City, on FRIDAY, DECEMBER 22, 8 P.M. Admission 25 cents.

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ALFRED GOLDSTEIN'S News of the Week Forums have been postponed until after the Xmas and New Year's holidays.

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It may happen from time to time that certain of the more important shows will not be reviewed in NEW MASSES. Nine times out of ten you may be certain that when this happens the Shuberts (Select Theatres Corp.) are behind the scenes. The Shuberts (represented by Mr. C. P. Greneker) have money in many productions, own many New York theaters. They do not care for NEW MASSES, and they will not send us tickets. Sometimes they can be circumvented, and tickets obtained through more congenial press agents in a position to obtain them; sometimes they cannot. Mr. Greneker has been approached many times about this recalcitrance. His most recent reply may be of interest: "I have been compelled to reduce the first and second night press list, and it is out of the question now to add any *new* publications at this time." (My italics.)

That this "explanation" is a phony may be attested to by the three following facts: (1) No other weekly magazine is refused seats (unless it is a leftist publication). (2) It is two years now since the Shuberts stopped sending us reviewers' seats; we panned one of their productions. (3) But the Shuberts are impartial; from time to time they have refused seats to such notables as Alexander Woollcott, Walter Winchell, and Leonard Lyons. It seems they too had the misfortune to dislike a Shubert production. Verb. sap.

ALVAH BESSIE.

Angna Enters

New compositions by the dance mime, at the Alvin Theater.

ANGNA ENTERS added three new compositions to her repertory in the first of a series of programs she is offering at the Alvin Theater. *Wiener Blut—Vienna—1939* is the story of a young Jewish student who must suddenly and uncomprehendingly abandon her books for the yellow armband of the Ghetto and the traveling suitcase. The idea of the composition is good, but it falters. The student isn't always far enough from caricature, and the miming depends for its effect too much on the knowledge and emotional set of the audience. *End of a World* traces thinly the life of a woman from her "confirmation" through "Paris 1914" to the neurotic "Women without Men—Victory." It is neither a healthy nor convincing biography; certainly it is no tribute to the women who are struggling heroically against war.

Crackpot Americana, subtitled " 'Just Folks' in the 'American Scene,' " includes among other, less comprehensible figures, a cartoon Kentucky moonshiner and a fascist-saluting, Negro-lynching KKKer. While the night-riding hooligans certainly merit the satiric treatment Miss Enters gives them, it hardly seems necessary to link a brutalized people with the white-hooded reaction of the South.

Miss Enters chooses her materials discerningly, but her treatment lacks balance and tends to destroy much of their value.

OWEN BURKE.

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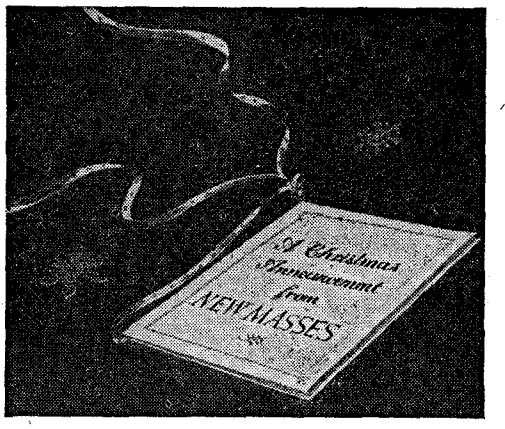

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